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THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



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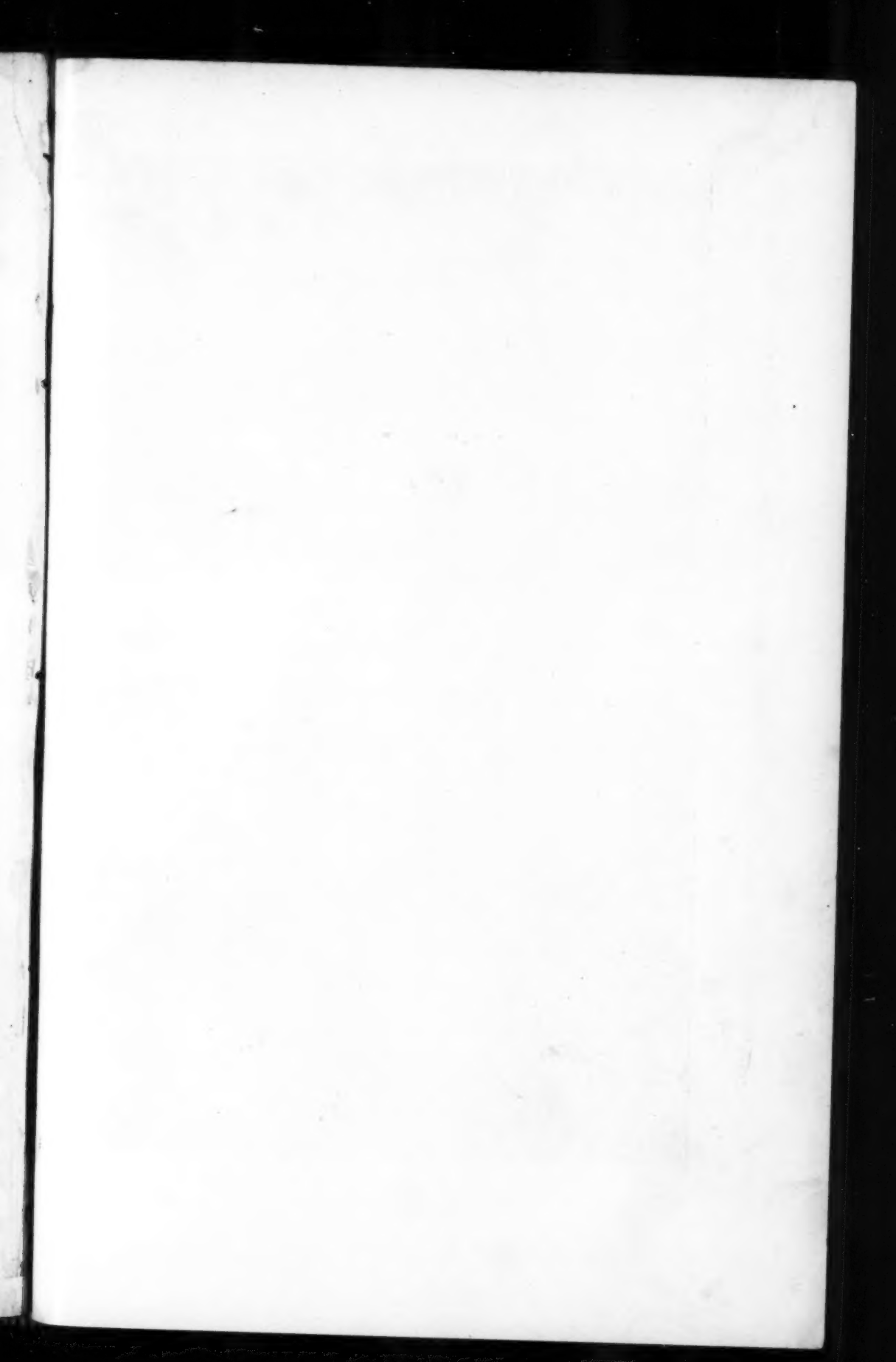
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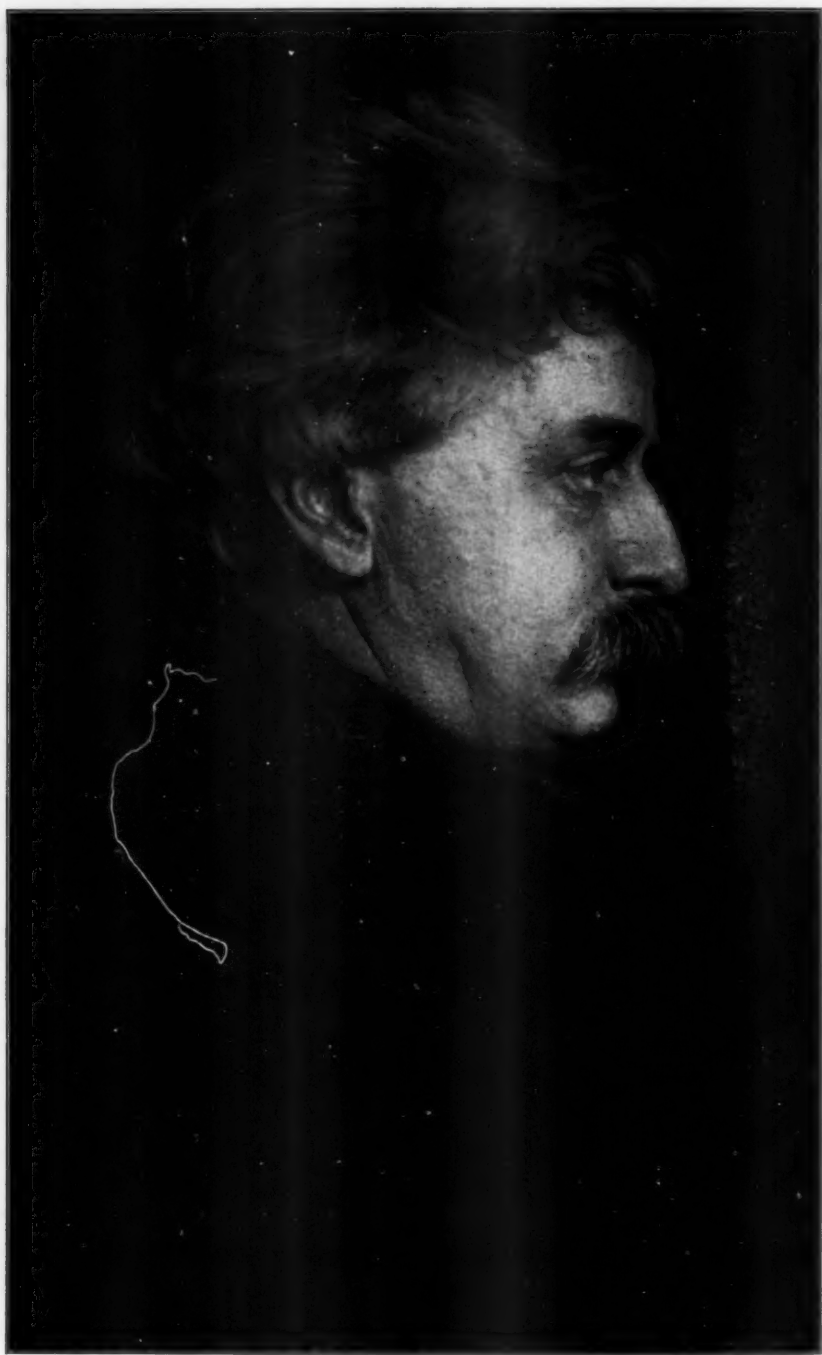


photo. by Paul Fournier.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

VOL. 40

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1908

No. 225

THE ALL-CANADIAN FALLS QUESTION.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

THE QUESTION as to whether the American Falls of Niagara shall be utterly and immediately destroyed has been recently raised by the Canadian government. A monumental work has just been published by the Canadian Geological Survey, written by the eminent scientist, Dr. J. W. W. Spencer, presenting some succinct and startling data in which every American is vitally interested.

Incontrovertible evidence of the most rigidly scientific character has been marshaled in by far the most important work ever published on the subject, which is bound to figure in the future international adjustments between the two countries. The American people more than the people of Canada owe a debt to the Hon. William Templeman, Minister of Mines of Canada, who has not allowed the power interests to suppress facts vital to them, contained in a work projected by Dr. Bell when Director of the Geological Survey, and under the administrative foresight of the Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior of Canada.

We are told on a technical authority, which a layman will neither dispute nor

elucidate, that the falls are 39,000 years old; that at first they were only thirty-five feet high, with less than one-sixth the present volume of water, owing to the fact discovered by Dr. Spencer in 1888 that the Huron waters only lately turned into the Erie drainage, when the St. Clair river flowed the other way and the drainage was to the northeast through Georgian Bay.

While flour mills were established on both sides of the Falls at the close of the eighteenth century (even as early as 1750), the real power question was first raised by the incorporation of the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Company in 1853, with priority of use of water. The Niagara Falls Power Company followed in 1886. At this time the water was thought to be unlimited, and there was no suspicion of a possibility of necessary curtailment. Both companies together were allowed 27,200 cubic feet per second, which would yield approximately 200,000 net electrical horse-power for each company. The Hydraulic Company takes its water by surface canal from a point above the Upper Rapids (one and one-half miles above the Falls) and conveys it to a point

below the American Falls, where the water falls in the river below, where the least amount of power may be lost. The Niagara Falls Power Company takes its water from near the same point, and conveys it directly to its wheel-pit, from the bottom of which there is a waste weir tunnel about one and a quarter miles long, where the water re-enters the river. The mean discharge of the entire Niagara Falls is about 204,000 cubic feet per second.

The first company's franchise allowed 10,000 cubic feet a second, which, on account of more economical construction of the works, permits a development of 240,000 gross horse-power, or 180,000 net horse-power.

The New York company had 17,200 cubic feet per second, developing (multiplying by 24) a gross horse-power of about 400,000, a net electrical horse-power of about 200,000, the loss being due to method of construction.

Since alarm was felt in the United States at the impending destruction of the Falls, the Burton Bill was passed, prohibiting the temporary use of more power than was actually developed, although additional works were commenced, so that at present the two companies have 6,000 and 8,500 cubic feet per second, about 200,000 horse-power, net.

After the New York power companies began operations, at the instigation of Lord Dufferin, when Governor-General of Canada, it was proposed to make an international park at Niagara Falls, and through his influence the Ontario government secured the property on the western side of the falls. At the same time, certain New York gentlemen, with Hon. Andrew H. Green as moving spirit, secured the passage of a law by the New York legislature for making expropriations on the New York side. This is the Mr. Green known as the father of Greater New York, who at his untimely death in 1903, was president of the New York Niagara Commission, and whose

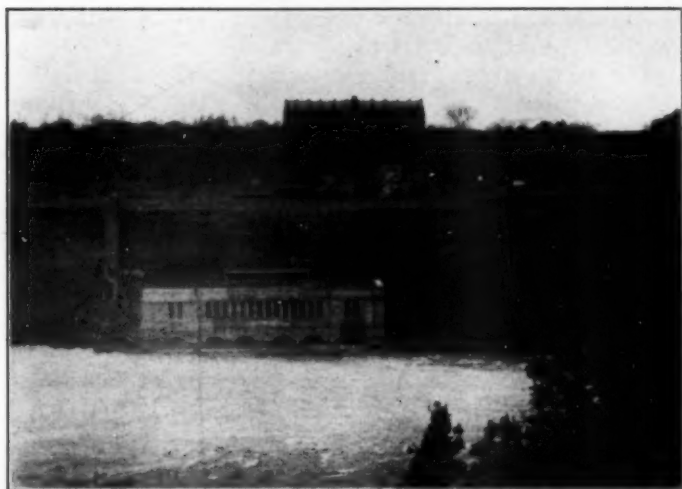
administration was marked by constant battles for the preservation of Niagara. So powerful were the influences in favor of the spoliation of the Falls, that these obtained from the Governor of New York a dismissal of all the Park Commissioners. But a friend of the Falls, finding this out, telegraphed Senator Platt, and Mr. Green was restored to his charge. Subsequently Mr. Green, observing the destruction of the Falls progressing on the Canadian side, drew up the bill for the present International Waterway Commission, but unfortunately his death prevented his taking charge of the movement he created for the express purpose of saving the Falls.

Some time after the construction of Niagara Falls Power Company a New York concern was again in Canada to operate. This company obtained from the Ontario government an exclusive franchise for power on the Canadian side, paying a rental of \$10,000 per year. The object was to keep any other company out of the field. This New York concern would tell Canada that they could have \$10,000 a year and have the Falls also. Later, however, the Ontario Power Company desired to acquire power rights, and methods were adopted to create a political furor, and the Canadian papers attacked the franchise not used, though no one seemed to want to use the power. This developed political conditions, so that the Ontario government broke the contract with the New York company, allowing, however, 110,000 horse-power and giving to the Ontario company about 250,000 horse-power. This led to the simultaneous construction of the works of the companies, so that the power could be turned on about 1905. In the meantime the Toronto interests wanted to use power, but there was no transmission line. So they obtained a charter for such a line, and tried to get power under satisfactory conditions from either the Canadian-Niagara or Ontario power companies, and at one time an agreement was almost reached

between the Toronto people and the Canadian-Niagara Company, which is a subsidiary company to the Niagara Falls Company of New York.

This falling through, they organized and built the Electrical Development Company of Ontario for their own use, and power has been used since the end of 1906.

Meanwhile there was a change of government in Ontario, and in the course of time the slogan taken up by the Conservative government was "Cheap Power," with commission organized under Mr. Adam Beck, a manufacturer of cigar-boxes of London, Ontario. Since that time there has been an acrimonious contest wherein the government seemed to be determined to destroy the Electrical Development Company at all hazards, though the power was being conveyed to Toronto, the ostensible reason being that the Ontario Power Company offered to deliver to the government power at about \$10.40 per horse-power at Niagara, which was a slight reduction below the offer of the Electrical Development Company at Niagara. In this event, the government would have to build transmission lines. The Electrical Development Company was under contract with the government of Ontario, in consideration of building the works and paying rental amounting to about \$100,000 per year, that the government should not enter into competition in the development of power. In short, in the government's proposal to build transmission lines is that they are doing it for the Ontario Power Company, which had not



VIEW OF POWER-HOUSE OF ONTARIO COMPANY IMMEDIATELY BELOW THE HORSESHOE FALLS. (ABOUT ONE-THIRD PROPOSED SIZE.)

provided transmission lines for themselves, while the Electrical Company had provided them. This practically means competition and a broken contract for the benefit of the Ontario Power Company. This policy of the company would have wrecked the Electrical Development Company, and amounted to confiscation, had it not been taken over by the interests of the Canadian Northern Railway Company, which is electrifying their railway, and will thus make a greater demand on Niagara than the manufacturing interests. This will not benefit the manufacturing interests of Canada or New York, but will make further demands on Niagara for more railway purposes.

What does all this mean?

Before exploiting the Ontario Power Company, did the Premier of Ontario investigate the results? From what Dr. Spencer has shown, it is manifest that Premier Whitney did not take into account the effects on the Falls.

The Ontario Power Company is taking their water from the basin above the upper rapids, while the Electrical Development Company takes its water at a

point, after the rapids have fallen about fifty feet below the level of the basin. Let us see the effect of taking water from different points.

As Dr. Spencer points out, the real rock rim of Lake Erie is not at the outlet of the lake, but at the head of the Upper Rapids. The taking of the supply from the smooth water above the rapids has the same effect as the two New York companies taking their water through deep canals beside the same basin. This results in withdrawing the water from the shallower parts of the rapids, and also in lowering the level of Lake Erie and subsequently the higher lakes. Since 1890 the water has fallen a foot on the upper rapids, thus rendering very shallow the waters on the eastern side of the main cataract known as Canadian Horseshoe, and also reducing the depth of the American Falls a foot, so that during times of mean water in Lake Erie the water of the American Falls and on the eastern side of the Horseshoe Falls is in many places less than a foot in depth, and now great boulders appear above the surface, which were lately covered by water.

The distribution of the water on the Falls is entirely dependent on the inflow of the river of the Upper Rapids, where the depth is found to have diminished to a foot and a half even at high stages of water. Now, unfortunately for the friends of the Falls, there has been high water in the lakes from incessant rainfall during the last three or four years, which last year was extraordinarily high, so as to partly conceal the effects of lowering the water of the Falls. This has kept us from seeing a good deal of the harm being done. In fact, the water has risen so as to compare only with the high water of the summer of 1838.

If we turn to the table of fluctuations it is found that during the whole year of 1901, the mean level of Lake Erie was actually seventeen inches lower than it was last year. This would leave the water over a considerable portion of the

rim of the basin only a few inches deep, and consequently under the present division of power, would lower the Falls so that the shallower parts covering some hundreds of feet would be broken up into separate strings of water. This would actually occur with Lake Erie at the stages of 1901 or even higher; so that a person would dare walk near the edge of the Falls or on the present bed of the river, for some hundreds of feet from Goat Island.

We have no right to suppose that the recent increase of rainfall, not merely in the Lake region, but even as far south as Texas, is a permanent feature, and that the lake level will not again fall to the mean of that of the fifteen years from 1891 to 1905, inclusive, or occasionally to extreme low water.

We need not expect to wait for the full use of all the franchise power already granted. For even the restricted amount, under the Burton Bill, will cause the damage during the mean stages of water of 1891-1905 and still more the low water of 1901 referred to, since the present unused part under the "Burton Bill" and provincial agreement will cause a lowering of the water of the Falls more than that which has already occurred from the present power uses. In other words, it will double the loss, and this doubling of loss *will practically destroy the sheet of water over the entire American Falls and 800 feet on the eastern side of the Canadian Horseshoe Falls.*

It should be noted here that the Canadian (Niagara) Falls of Ontario have already been shortened by over 400 feet, mostly due to the Canadian Niagara Power Company. The effects of this shortening has already impaired the appearance of the Falls, when viewed from a point looking up the river, so that from a distance the diameter appears smaller than the American Falls, although two and a half times the circumference. Certain people have been wont to compare Niagara with Victoria Falls on the Zambesi in Africa, which reaches a mile



NIAGARA FALLS FROM ARCH BRIDGE.

The Canadian Falls lately extended to line A A, but now curtailed by power companies.

in length. These African falls are broken up by a very large number of small islands at the very edge, while the Niagara Falls are obstructed only by the little island of Luna and the larger Goat Island. But, including these, Niagara Falls had a breadth of a mile along the crest line before the curtailment of four hundred and fifteen feet for one of the present power companies. With the impending destruction of the Falls the total breadth will be reduced from over a mile to 1,600 feet in circumference, and a diameter of from 1,200 feet to 800 feet and what remains of the Falls will be all Canadian.

Are we to give our Falls away to Ontario and New York? Have we a right to do this, and have the Canadians a right, should they decide to lower the Falls, to dispossess American people?

And should the Canadians be able to divert the waters from Goat Island shore so as to destroy the riparian rights of the island?

But the chief forthcoming mischief herein outlined will not be entirely due to all the Canadian companies, for the Electrical Development Company and the Canadian Niagara take their water from points far below the Upper Rapids, so that they will not be responsible for the additional damage. But the responsibility will rest with the companies which take their water from the upper Rapids, Niagara Falls Hydraulic and Niagara Falls Power Company, the Ontario Power Company of Canada, and the Chicago, Welland & Erie Canals, which last drain but a small amount of water. As has been stated above, by the Burton Act, the two New York companies have had



VIEW SHOWING SHEET OF WATER NEXT TO GOAT ISLAND.

their privileges reduced nearly one-half, but not so the Ontario Company, which as yet has developed but one-third of its franchise capacity.

The development of all the power under the unrestricted franchises of various companies incorporated and now using power (and they are, of course, trying to recover their restricted rights) will absolutely drain the eastern side of the Greater Falls and leave a few little miserable streams of water in the American Falls, and will also cause a further contraction of 200 feet on the Canadian side of the Horseshoe Falls as shown by Dr. Spencer's work.

No account is taken in this paper of the cost to navigation in lowering lake levels, harbors and canals. In this matter alone, leaving wholly out of the question the destruction of the American Falls, and the curtailment of those on the Canadian side, this diversion of power to five corporations, four of which are American companies (though operating in Ontario), will cost the United States and Canada upwards of \$25,000,000 in the mere matter of deepening the harbors

and canals to repair the damage to the present navigation, not to speak of its improvement.

Again, the number of visitors to the Falls varies greatly from year to year, but it ranges from 600,000 to 1,250,000, and the estimated expenditure in going and while at the Falls is taken at the modest sum of twenty dollars, which thus reaches a disbursement of \$25,000,000 in some years. The Falls are not the rich

people's property, but it is the masses who go there on excursions. Just think of closing Central Park, New York, although land there is not obtainable, while many other falls of little repute may be found.

In a recent Associated Press despatch the statement is made in an interview with Dr. Spencer that already Lake Erie has been lowered ten inches, although in his book which contains data down to two years ago he recorded the lowering of the lake then as eight inches. This loss of ten inches of water over the area of Lake Erie in a time of extraordinarily high water is insignificant, as at the present time, but not so during mean and low water. The author shows that the whole effect of this use of water which is being continually increased, will not be seen for some time afterwards. Now the quantity under permission is about two and a half times that resulting in use so that even with the restricted consumption the lowering of the lake will be such that the levels will sink two feet or more and, of course, in time Lakes Huron and Michigan will recede to the same



By permission of Baker Art Gallery, Columbus, Ohio.

VIEW OF NIAGARA FALLS (CANADIAN FALLS), LOW WATER, 1899.

Now shortened by 415 feet to A A, on Canadian side, due to power diversion. Future shortening will extend from Goat Island to B B. Cataract remaining will be located between A and B.

subsiding levels, seriously damaging all the harbors and canals. This point is of great political importance. On the ground of interference with navigable waters the whole matter may be taken up by the State Department, and Dr. Spencer furnishes the ground for an International arbitration.

The United States Engineers have estimated the lowering of the lakes by the Chicago Drainage Canal to the extent of six inches will require an outlay of \$12,000,000 to recoup the damages resulting to harbors and canals besides affecting smaller canals on which the government will not spend money. Thus it will be seen that the allowance of the present provisional quantities of diversion will cost at least \$25,000,000 and perhaps vastly more owing to the cost rapidly increasing in geometrical ratio to the sinking levels. The two New York companies have already been restricted, and their works are fully developed to their present allowance. On the Canadian side the Ontario company has its developments completed to about one-third of its franchise only, so that here curtailment could be best affected with proper pecuniary allowance. This company is now the adopted child of Premier Whitney, of Ontario.

On the other hand, the two lower power companies in Canada cannot affect the American Falls nor the lowering of the later lake levels, though somewhat impairing the deeper waters of the Falls. Here the Canadians can get their share of power without destruction to the Falls. Dr. Spencer shows that as a simple power question the Canadian has the larger share of power at the falls, but the question arises how can this be used if it is going to damage the navigation of the upper waters. I am able to see no reason why the Dominion Government should countenance the spoliation of the Falls and all for the benefit of five power companies, beyond its disinclination for political reasons to interfere with matters of Provincial concern. But when it becomes a matter not merely of Provincial interest, and affects Canada and all the shipping passing in and out of the Great Lakes, it becomes a question concerning the interstate commerce of the United States as well as West Canada, and on this ground the United States Government can make strong and effective representations to the government at Ottawa over the head of Premier Whitney, of Ontario, who seems to be heedless of the scientific warnings contained in Dr. Spencer's classic work.

Referring to the reports of the Canadian section of the International Waterways Commission one finds a protest against the vandalism of destroying the Falls, but it is intimated that so much water can be safely used without giving grounds for the opinion. In the report of the American section of the Commission it is admitted that the amount recommended is perilous, but an allowance is agreed upon, which was subsequently cut down under the Burton Act and the Taft rulings. Now Dr. Spencer's report differs from these and from all other reports accessible to me in that he gives quantitative measurements of the results which form the foundations of his conclusions. His opinions are, therefore, more convincing than those of any engineer or specialist whose opinions are not supported by the incontrovertible evidence of concrete fact. In fact, one engineer, of responsible position, says: "Yes, we are in high water; but we have no means of saying that low water will recur—although the high water of 1838 suddenly rose that year to subside in a year or two." In short, we have been too long at the mercy of mere opinions thrown in the limelight with the facts enveloped in the gloom of guess-work.

From the date of Dr. Spencer's book, it appears that it was nearly completed two years ago, and should have been published a year ago. But, unfortunately, it was held back. Why? It would be difficult to ascertain but easy

to guess. The first public notice^{of} the obstruction appears in a mining journal in Toronto, November 15, 1907, containing a violent attack upon the forthcoming book, *as yet unpublished*, with apparently an effort to suppress it. Since the appearance of the book last January there has been a similar onslaught in a Western mining journal, apparently inspired by the same author. Both of these facts have been used in an attempt to suppress the book in Parliament since its publication. That the published work should have been attacked by any interest to whom its damning facts meant destruction is easy to understand as part of the game. But why the unpublished manuscript of an official of the scientific department of a nation should be publicly attacked is quite a different matter. I am reliably informed that there were only three people who had the right of access to an unpublished official manuscript; the author, who would hardly be disposed to criticize his own work; the Director of the Survey, who was very ill, and the editor, who has since been summarily dismissed by the Canadian Government.*

FRANK VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

*For the basis of this paper see Spencer's *Falls of Niagara, their evolution and varying relations to the Great Lakes: Characteristics of the Power and the Effects of Its Diversion*. By J. W. W. Spencer, Geological Survey of Canada, 1907. Also the Reports of the International Waterway Commission, and the Toronto papers during the last year.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION UNDER STORM-SAILS.

BY EDWARD TREGEAR,
Secretary for Labor of New Zealand.

THE POSITION of the Arbitration Act in New Zealand has shifted from the anchorage to which it held some years ago. Recent visitors from the United States have expressed their regretful recognition of the fact that the results of our Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act when regarded from the standpoint of local public opinion do not fulfil the expectations our guests were led to form from the accounts given by the late Mr. H. Demarest Lloyd and other writers, so the conclusion too quickly arrived at is that those writers viewed this economic experiment through very rose-colored spectacles. That disenchantment, however to be deplored, should cause no insinuation as to intentional misrepresentation on the part of the author of *A Land Without Strikes* and his *confrères*. They viewed the situation as it then appeared. At that time the Arbitration Act seemed firmly set in the affections of the colonial workers, and although the representatives of employers might have appeared skeptical of its advantages (or even adverse to the measure entirely) the great weight of the opinion of the numerical majority of the people was cast in favor of industrial arbitration. New Zealand was for some years in reality as in name "A Land Without Strikes," and if it has lost that happy preëminence in some slight degree it may be profitable to inquire into the reasons for the loss, ascertain the extent of the failure, and (after searching to find if it is owing to fallacious principle or faulty administration) prove, if possible, whether the damage is vital or may with advantage be repaired.

First, then, let it be granted that if during the halcyon period referred to no strikes occurred it was not that we had the actual power to prevent them. Strikes

were long conspicuous by their absence because the general consensus of opinion was against their employment as weapons. It was practically accepted that we had a fairer and more legitimate procedure through industrial courts than we could attain by the arbitrament of open force. We could by legislation no more prevent strikes and lockouts than the United States can prevent murders or burglaries by passing laws for their prevention. So long as the working classes believed that they held in the Arbitration Act a more honest and logical way of arriving at a successful result than by striking, so long was the Act observed and respected even when the result was far from being as favorable to them as they expected when they applied to the court for an award. When, however, the workers began to consider that the ends they strove for were seldom gained, discontent began to appear, especially in the particular trades which had to work under the awards regarded as unsatisfactory. The great majority of the workers are (I believe) still in favor of industrial arbitration, but to deny that many are disaffected would be a futile following of the proverbial ostrich.

The employers say that the evolution of working-class discontent has proceeded on natural and inevitable lines. At first there were undoubted grievances to be redressed under the Act. Old points of friction concerning hours, wages, holidays, payment for overtime, preference to unionists, etc., were removed by the court as awards affecting trade after trade were delivered and became law. This, however, could not last forever. If wages were advanced and hours shortened so that the workers became satisfied and even elated with the success of their new ally, still, it is asserted, a point has been reached when further concession is impos-

sible and could not be decreed by any court without bringing disaster on those supplying capital and paying wages. The profits of employers are undoubtedly bounded by other considerations than those relating to the earnings of those whom they employ. Markets have to be considered, and the prices at which similar products can be imported from abroad. In spite of the tariff-wall which protection builds for local industries employers in many industries state that the limit of concession in wages has been reached, and it is evident that in several trade disputes of late this view of the position has been accepted by the Arbitration Court and the plea of "no advance" upheld.

On the other hand the workers deny that the boundary of wage-increase has been reached, or that a due share of profit reaches their hands. They point to the growth in numbers of the persons employed, to the high prices of industrial products, to the huge additions made to the buildings, plant, output and value of business establishments, and especially to the enormous increase of private wealth in the colony, wealth of which little indeed falls to the share of the wage-earners. They say that the small advance of wages during the last fifteen years is in no degree commensurate with the ratio of the increase in the cost of living, particularly in the prices of goods which they themselves produce and then have to pay for at disproportionate rates. They complain that the court has lately afforded them little redress against exploitation, and apparently is wanting in sympathy with those who toil. In brief, that the Act, the chief of our "Labor Laws," is proving itself no friend of workers, but has been of incalculable advantage to those whose avarice or unbounded "enterprise" it was projected to limit and control.

This complaint culminated in a judgment of the court given two years ago in regard to the Federated Seamen. The sailors had asked the court again and

again for the restoration of ten shillings a month per man which they had lost in 1891 after the great maritime strike which preceded our "advanced legislation." They contend that the evidence adduced fairly established the claim that the Union Shipping Company (our almost monopolistic but admirably effective coastal service) had lately made such profits that the sailors in its employment should in fairness share to some small extent in the success of the shareholders. The president of the Arbitration Court in delivering his award declared that he found no direction in the Act as to the basis of wage-rates being dependent or contingent on the profits made by the employers, so refused the ten shillings advance. The decision met with loud disapprobation, the sailors retorting that theirs was evidently a case in which the motto of their employers was, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose"—since in bad times the men's wages were cut down, but in good times they were not to be increased or even restored to their old level. This was a notable case, but other judgments on similar lines further incensed industrial unions of workers.

Soon after that time followed the first movement that could be called a strike which New Zealand has known for seventeen years. The slaughtermen employed in three or four establishments of the frozen-meat trade struck work for an increase on the killing-rates. This industry is recurrent or temporary, only having existence during the summer months; many wanderers from Australia and elsewhere come to us for its short season of activity. On this occasion these visitors brought from over-seas ideas of individualistic and independent action, and they incited our own men in the trade to set aside the slow process of recourse to arbitration and to strike suddenly while the yards were full of sheep for slaughter. The strike lasted for two or three weeks, then, under pressure, the masters yielded up considerable advantages in the killing-rates. The court was applied to, and in

several cases fined the men heavily for breach of awards. Many of the men paid their fines, but some of them slipped away out of the colony scatheless.

Since then we have had another strike, that of the Blackball Coal Mine, on the West Coast of the South Island. It arose from several causes of irritation fretting the miners, and culminated in a strike on the discharge of several men without reason being given, but (as the miners allege) because these men were the executive of a new society disliked by the mining manager. The men have not at the time of the writing of this article returned to work. They and their families are being supported by contributions from industrial unions and other societies in sympathy with men whom they believe to have been unfairly treated for union reasons.

In both these strikes the movement did not spread beyond the small body of persons locally interested. Others in the same trade or in other trades have only aided them by moral or financial support. The butchers of the colony did not strike in sympathy with the export slaughterers, nor did the miners in any other coal mine than the Blackball throw down their tools or leave their employment. Indeed from other and powerful unions came loud expressions of annoyance with the workers who chose to defy the Act, and these objectors passed resolutions of refusal to contribute to the support of the strikers. Numerically the two strikes have been petty and of small importance, but from the view-point of economics and of social regulation they are significant and worthy of consideration, since they disclose by their existence the little rift within the lute which was in tune and without a discord but ten years ago.

What causes the discord? Is it in the instrument itself, or is it the mind of the player which causes the noise of "sweet bells jangled"? I believe the cause is in the mind of the performers, and is deeper seated than any local or industrial cause peculiar to the Dominion.

It is easy, of course, to repeat the old

formula that "The interests of Capital and Labor are identical." That is believed by those whose interest it is to hold such a creed, but rightly or wrongly it is not accepted by the vast multitude of the working classes all over the world. Even the softened form of the phrase, viz.: "The interests of Capital and Labor are parallel" will not receive recognition as an article of faith. The latter phrase would gain and hold many supporters, perhaps, if anything like the position assumed by the defenders of individualistic industrialism is or can be the rule of life in production and distribution. An ideal employer, who considers the interests of the men and women who furnish labor to his enterprise as important and as worthy of reward as his own interests measured by his own profits, may honestly arrange that his emoluments and theirs should move along parallel lines. There are, perchance, some who believe they do so consider such united interests, but in the vast majority even of these cases the line which marks the employer's profits is very strong and distinct while the worker's parallel line is faint and wavering. In most cases there is no parallel whatever: the lines are divergent from the start. It is in the very nature of our modern financial system that it should be so; in production for profit the less paid for the two items of cost-of-material and cost-of-workmanship the greater the gain resulting as the share of capital or superintendence. This has given birth to the world-wide belief among the workers that "Industrialism is War!" We who move in a human and not in an angelic world have to accept firmly-established beliefs as actual forces to encounter, and we find that a dogma like that concerning the identity of interests between capital and labor is apt to become spectral and illusive when opposed by deep-seated and determined mental rejection of any such phrase as bearing on hard facts. The workingman, who is not half such a fool as it pleases the ordinary business man to represent him, has an

argument difficult to refute when he says: "In spite of clever sophistries, in spite of webs of cunning words, let us judge by results. After life-long partnership Capital retires from business with steam-yachts, motor-cars, country estates and invested wealth on the mere interest of which his descendants can live in affluence (on the labor of others) forever. Labor, after having obtained from business day-by-day enough to keep its representative in food and clothes just sufficient to enable him to go on working for another's benefit, also retires from the partnership—to the work-house or the scrap-heap. This kind of result of the partnership is the almost undeviating rule all over the world (even in that land of opportunities, the United States) and shows that "identity of interest" is only a sugared lie. No. "Industrialism is War!"

Because of this belief in the impossibility of equitable relations between the employer for profit and the human machine he uses, some of the workers in New Zealand have given utterance to the expression that no Arbitration Court can possibly be of permanent benefit to the working classes. They say that it has certainly proved favorable to employers or else those employers, at first so bitter against it, would not now support it, "Therefore, because it is supported by employers it must be bad for us, since what they gain we lose." They also plead that a court which fixes their wages or earnings and does not fix the profits which can be set by the employers on the goods the workers produce and consume is unfair and lop-sided. The latter plea could, of course, be met by further legislation, but such legislation is still "on the knees of the gods."

In spite of such arguments I affirm that the Arbitration Act in New Zealand is not the real source and origin of the trouble it has lately attracted around it. That trouble arises from the deep feeling of resentment against social and economic conditions which induces the present unrest and sullen discontent among

workers all over the world. New Zealand feels the heavy ground-swell presaging the coming storm and pulsing against her shores both from the Old and New Worlds. It breaks in foam against our Arbitration Act because that is the most important and prominent measure of our "advanced legislation," but if that Act were non-existent the surge would expend itself in some other direction on the position of Capital and Labor. That industrial arbitration *per se* has little to do with the question is apparent if we look elsewhere, and note that in countries like the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and others where there is no compulsory arbitration the spirit of revolt is existent in far greater degree than in this colony. Compulsory arbitration has not evolved the three and a half million Social-Democrats of Germany, nor caused English statesmen to declare that Tory and Liberal must unite in common to stem the Socialist advance.

I very earnestly believe that our Arbitration Act will survive its infantile disorders and come to a glorious maturity of usefulness. This creed of mine has its foundation on the solid rock of Nature's facts, deep below all the rubbish of obsolete economic systems of which men have grown tired. One of the best ascertained of these facts in nature is "the survival of the fittest." The strongest of all forces in human society is that which makes the collective force of the whole greater than that of any of its units. Here and there under temporary and abnormal conditions of life a Napoleon in the military class or a trust magnate in the financial class may dominate unduly the mass of society for his individual ends, but a very short time suffices to work out that "freak" in the evolution of the scheme of things. The eddies close over the drowned head, and the human race sweeps on to its destiny. So, the law of compulsory arbitration when it obtains the united approbation of a people has behind it the force which will prove it "the fittest to survive," when individual expressions of determination

to "run my own business in my own way" (whatever the cost to others) will be among the withered leaves of the earth's dead autumns.

Let me recapitulate very briefly what compulsory arbitration stands for. Unfortunately, such repetition is sometimes necessary because as the new years appear and fresh generations of youths and scholars emerge from the schools and universities we ignore or forget the arguments considered weighty when an idea was first born into practical life. Compulsory arbitration meant the emergence of "the third party," the community, into industrial existence. We, the general public, said to master and man, "You shall no longer annoy and ruin us with your continual petty strifes and disturbances. Your strikes and lockouts, your picketings and boycotts, your blacklisting and crippling of important industries affect the safety and prosperity of thousands besides those who are directly concerned. You shall take your quarrels as to wages and hours of work before an impartial court for settlement, and continue to work under the old conditions till the new are established. If our judges are competent to deal with millions of money in such matters as legacies, land transfers, salvage, etc.; if they can affect our most intimate domestic relations through probate and divorce; if they hold the safety of our lives and our property under the criminal law, then they are

quite qualified to decide whether carpenters and brick-layers are entitled to get an increase of twenty-five cents a day on their wages or not. Anyway, we are not going to let you settle your disputes by club-law to our peril and annoyance. Our collective interest is greater than that of any individual, and what that individual has to do is to obey."

That was what was said in New Zealand in 1894. Is there any reason for doubting the sanity and wholesomeness of that principle now? None that I can see. If the administration of the Act has been faulty, then the people who grumble must see that the administration is improved. The principle of industrial conciliation and arbitration is unassailed and unassailable. It is part of the legislation the future has in trust for us, legislation having its birth in equity and consideration for the rights of the whole of the people. As a solitary and unique example of that future legislation it is (because not yet properly supported by sister-acts) passing through a time of trial, but it will emerge "purified as by fire." Arbitration will one day eliminate injustice from industrial strife, as arbitration will some day sweep away that other form of war which now bases its arguments on the method of rending tender and beautiful human bodies with the eloquent shell and the logical bayonet.

EDWARD TREGAR.

Wellington, New Zealand.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN PRACTICAL OPERATION.

BY GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,

President American People's Rule League.

THE OFFICIAL count of the referendum vote in Oregon on nineteen state questions has been announced and should be carefully studied. Before presenting the figures it will be well to review the history of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon.

In 1902 the people of the state adopted a constitutional amendment for the system, the vote being practically unanimous, namely, eleven to one. Early in 1903 the legislature installed the details.

That year the legislature's conduct was such that no petitions were filed referring any of its acts to the people. But the legislature refused to initiate all the reforms demanded, and two initiative petitions of more than eight per cent. each were filed with the secretary of state, one for direct nominations and the other for a local option law on the liquor question. Up to that time, 1904, the voters were not allowed to control the liquor traffic. The liquor interests were the ruling power in their particular field. They put in a saloon wherever it was profitable. But on election day, 1904, the voters took to themselves the power to ballot directly on the liquor question, and to-day, only four years later, seventy-five per cent. of the state is "dry." Sixty per cent. of the population have banished the saloon. A total of 270 saloons have been closed. But throughout the so-called prohibition territory the United States Government issues licenses and the interstate carriers conduct a jug trade. Thus the party in power nationally is largely nullifying the state prohibition system.

The vote to establish local option on the saloon question was only 2,000 majority in a total vote of about 750,000. Had the proposal been for local option on all

local questions the affirmative vote would have been overwhelming.

The vote on the initiative proposal to establish direct nomination in place of the machine-ruled state nominating conventions was in the affirmative and three to one. There was no open opposition. The campaign against it by the special-privilege interests and their political representatives was a still-hunt.

Thus the first year's use of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon was highly successful.

Two years later the legislature appropriated an unusually large sum for the state university and the act was referred to the people. The petition was started by the State Grange. The filing of the petition held up the entire appropriation bill for educational institutions. At election time the people accepted the legislature's proposals, at the same time adopting a constitutional amendment authorizing themselves to file a referendum petition against any part of an appropriation bill.

A non-partisan organization, known as the People's Power League, headed by Hon. W. S. U'Ren and other leading citizens, proposed five initiative measures to more effectually restore the people's rule. These measures were adopted and with the rousing majority hereinafter stated.

The people took to themselves a veto power and power of direct-legislation in local affairs, the vote being: Yes, 47,778; No, 16,755, or nearly three to one.

The citizens conferred upon themselves through their local governments, the exclusive power to enact and amend the system of local government, subject only to the limitations in the constitution and the criminal laws. The vote was:

Yes, 52,567; No, 19,942, or two and one-half to one.

The citizens authorized one legislature to propose to them constitutional amendments, and they provided that no constitutional convention should be called without their approval. Up to that time the few men in the legislature could call a constitutional convention, and it required the consent of two consecutive legislatures before a constitutional amendment could be submitted. The vote on the change was: Yes, 47,661; No, 18,751, or nearly three to one.

The regulations concerning state printing were in the constitution, and were favorable to excessive prices and machine-rule domination. An initiative petition suggested that the state printing should be controlled by statute law. The vote was: Yes, 63,749; No, 9,571, or six and one-half to one.

The fifth measure proposed by Mr. U'Ren and his fellow-patriots was that free passes to members of the legislature by the railroads and other forms of discrimination by public-service corporations should be abolished. The people's vote was: Yes, 57,281; No, 16,779, or three and four-tenths to one.

Two measures were initiated by the State Grange and adopted. It was enacted that sleeping-car companies, refrigerator-car companies, oil companies and express companies, which had been escaping taxation, should thenceforth pay three per cent. of their gross earnings within the state. The people's affirmative vote was 69,536, to 6,440 in the negative, or nearly eleven to one. The legislature had refused to levy a two per cent. tax. This demonstrates the power of the monopoly corporations. After the legislature had adjourned the legislative committee of the State Grange took the bill and appended an initiative petition but increased the tax rate fifty per cent., and the people adopted it. The legislative committee of the State Grange also took a bill for a one-per-cent. tax on the gross earnings of telegraph and telephone com-

panies, which the legislature had refused to enact, doubled the rate of tax and put it to a vote of the people, who adopted it. The vote was: Yes, 70,872; No, 6,360, or eleven to one. Thus the monopolists met their Waterloo. Since then they have been trying to cripple the system by amending it, at the same time they are asking the courts to declare that direct voting by the people on state questions is in violation of the Federal Constitution which prescribes that "The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government." (Article IV., Section IV.) In 1903 the Oregon Supreme Court in *Kaddey versus Portland*, 74 Pacific Reporter, upheld the Initiative and Referendum system. Before that time the National House and Senate had seated the representatives from Oregon and South Dakota and, during 1907 President Roosevelt in his proclamation announcing the admission of Oklahoma declared that its system of government is republican.

Returning to the questions presented in the Oregon campaign of 1906 it is to be noted that a constitutional amendment for the enfranchisement of women was defeated. A vigorous campaign was conducted on both sides and the vote was: No, 46,971; Yes, 36,928, a total of 83,899. This was the largest vote on any measure. The vote for Governor was 96,715.

The Liquor Dealers' Association initiated a local-option bill to change the one which the Prohibitionists had instituted. The people voted against it: No, 45,144; Yes, 35,397.

A toll-road company endeavored to sell its property to the state at a big figure and failed. It secured the circulation of an initiative bill which the voters rejected: No, 44,525; Yes, 31,525.

Thus eleven measures were voted upon in 1906, of which three were vetoed and eight adopted. This acceptance of part and rejection of others demonstrates that the voters discriminated, and not one bad measure was adopted.

Two years later, 1908, the people voted upon nineteen measures and the official returns have been published. Of these nineteen measures twelve were adopted and seven were rejected. Thus for the second time the people accepted part of the measures and vetoed the rest.

They vetoed the legislature's proposal that railway corporations should furnish free passes to the members of the legislature and other state officers, county judges and sheriffs. It will be remembered that two years before the people directly outlawed free passes, which action the next legislature attempted to set aside, as we have shown, but through the existence of the referendum the people stopped it. Their vote on the legislature's proposal was: No, 59,406; Yes, 28,856, or two to one.

The direct-nomination law of 1904 had provided for direct nominations for candidates for the United States Senate and that the nominees of the several parties should be voted upon by the people at the general election. To make the people's will effective each candidate for the legislature was to announce whether or not, if elected, he would vote to elect the people's choice. This worked but with considerable friction, so in 1908 an initiative bill proposed "That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator from this state who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections." This was adopted: Yes, 69,668; No, 21,162, or more than three to one.

The people's constitutional right to instruct for the United States Senate is the Ninth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which declares:

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Thus the people retained the right to instruct. Proof that in 1789 the people

possessed the right are the provisions in the Bill of Rights in four of the state constitutions, namely, in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In these states the Bill of Rights specifically reserved to the people the right to assemble to instruct their representatives. In the other states the people instructed at will. This is admitted in a debate in the first Congress, August 15, 1789.

The foregoing initiative measure for an unqualified instruction to members of the legislature was proposed by Mr. U'Ren and the other leading people's-rule advocates. They proposed three other measures, as follows, which the people adopted.

They installed a constitutional amendment providing that "Every public officer in Oregon is subject, as herein provided, to recall by the legal voters of the state or of the electoral district from which he is elected." The vote was: Yes, 58,381; No, 30,002, or nearly two to one. This, too, in the face of a recommendation to the people by the state convention of the dominant party that they ought not to accept the proposed change. Previous to this the legislature had refused to propose the amendment. The legislature also refused to propose the two following amendments and the Republican State Convention of this year specifically declared against the first one.

In place of the election of members of the legislature, one from each small district, the U'Ren initiative petition proposed that the constitution be amended so as to authorize proportional representation; that is, the election of ten, fifteen or more members from a large district and in such manner that each voter's ballot should help elect some one. Thus each voter would actually be represented.

The initiative measure further specified that "Provision may be made by law for the voters' direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law

that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. The principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations." In other words, the plan is that the progressive voters can get together and without any fusion nominations.

The people's ballot on these combined proposals for preferential voting and proportional representation was: Yes, 48,868; No, 34,128. The incoming legislature will be called upon to frame the systems and if the progressive group is not satisfied they will use initiative petitions to propose the best systems. Experience demonstrates that Proportional Representation cuts out political corruption and special privileges, and with scarcely any referring of measures to the people, for each interest is represented by its trusted leaders.

The fourth of the far-reaching measures proposed by the U'Ren group is a nineteen-page law which the legislature refused to enact. Its purpose is "To limit candidates' election expenses; to define, prevent and punish corrupt and illegal practices in nominations and elections; to secure and protect the purity of the ballot; to amend Section 2,775 of Bellinger and Cotton's annotated codes and statutes of Oregon; to provide for furnishing information to the electors and to provide the manner of conducting contests for nominations and elections in certain cases." Among other things a new crime is created, that of political libel. Henceforth the reputation of one who becomes a candidate will be somewhat protected from unfair vilification. The favorable vote on the entire proposal was: Yes, 54,042; No, 30,301.

To further emphasize the people's contempt for their so-called representatives they refused to approve their recommendation that their pay shall henceforth be \$400 for each regular session of the legislature and \$10 per day for each extra session instead of \$3 per day and mileage. The vote was: No, 68,892; Yes, 19,691.

The voters also rejected the legislature's

proposal to change the constitutional provisions concerning the power of the judges and to increase their number. The vote was: No, 50,591; Yes, 30,243, or nearly two to one. At the same time the people adopted an initiative proposal abolishing the district-attorney's power to file a criminal charge against a citizen and reestablish the grand jury system. Henceforth no person in Oregon "can be charged in the circuit courts with the commission of a crime or a misdemeanor except upon indictment found by a grand jury of five, except that when a court holds an indictment to be defective the district-attorney may file an amended indictment." The only argument urged against this amendment was that the other plan is cheaper. In answer it was said: "If the citizens of Oregon prefer a few dollars to a great fundamental principle of personal liberty, then they certainly do not deserve their liberties and they might as well be left open to the whims, vengeance, mistakes or political intrigues of any district-attorney. The citizens of this country will make a great mistake if they let go that part of the administration of the law which belongs to them through the grand jury and the petty jury, and we repeat that this present arbitrary power lodged in one man is un-American and dangerous." The vote was: Yes, 52,214; No, 28,487.

The legislature proposed an appropriation of \$25,000 annually for four years, "To be used in purchasing grounds, and building armories for the use of the Oregon National Guard." Rejected by a vote of 54,848 against 33,507. At the same time the voters approved an unusually large appropriation for the state university. The vote was: Yes, 44,115; No, 40,535.

The voters accepted the legislature's suggestion that the date of the general election be changed from June to November. The vote was: Yes, 65,728; No, 18,590, or nearly three to one, as against a three-to-one negative vote for the raising of salaries for members of the legisla-

ture. This large vote in favor of some measures and against others demonstrates that the voters discriminated. The people adopted, also, the legislature's proposal that state institutions can be located elsewhere than at the state capital. The vote was: Yes, 41,975; No, 40,868.

A complete revision of the tax laws in Oregon is inevitable. The State Grange is considering a system but some of the Single-Taxers got in ahead with an initiative proposal providing for the exemption from taxation in addition to exemptions now authorized by the constitution of "All dwelling-houses, barns, sheds, out-houses, and all other appurtenances thereto; all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes, and appurtenances thereto; all fences, farm machinery, and appliances used as such; all fruit trees, vines, shrubs, and all other improvements on farms, all live stock; all household furniture in use; and all tools owned by workmen and in use." This is not a complete single-tax measure and it does not allow for local option, and it was severely defeated. The vote was: No, 60,871; Yes, 32,066.

A proposal for a woman suffrage was defeated. The vote was: No, 58,670; Yes, 36,858. The unfavorable majority was more than twice as large as two years before.

At the same time the voters turned down a proposal for the possibility of wide-open towns and cities. An initiative petition proposed a constitutional amendment "Giving additional and exclusive power to cities and towns, within their corporate limits, to license, regulate, control and tax, or to suppress or prohibit theaters, race-tracks, pool-rooms, bowling-alleys, billiard-halls, and the sale of liquors, subject to the provisions of the local-option law of the state of Oregon." The unfavorable vote was: No, 52,346; Yes, 39,442. But a proposal for the better care and custody of prisoners in jails was adopted: Yes, 60,443; No, 30,033.

The legislature had refused to protect

the salmon and sturgeon fisheries in the Columbia river. The fishermen along the upper part of the river filed an initiative petition and then the fishermen at the mouth of the river proposed a bill, but neither was in conflict with the other and the voters adopted both. The vote on the first named was: Yes, 46,582; No, 40,720. On the second measure the vote was: Yes, 56,130; No, 30,280.

A new county, that of Hood River, was proposed by initiative petition and adopted: Yes, 43,948; No, 26,778.

This year for the second time the Oregonians voted directly for a representative in the United States Senate and chose their Governor, George E. Chamberlain, who is a Democrat. In 1904, when President Roosevelt carried the state by a plurality of 43,000, in a vote of only 90,154, Governor Chamberlain captured the Governorship by a plurality of 246.

Two years earlier he had received the office by a plurality of 276. Now he is elected to the United States Senate by a plurality of 1,900. The principal reason why he has received this phenomenal vote is that he has ably championed the Initiative and Referendum and other measures to increase the people's power. When the overwhelmingly Republican legislature high-handedly set aside the referendum by declaring bills to be emergency measures Governor Chamberlain promptly vetoed them. This year when the machine Republicans planned to prevent the election of the people's choice for United States Senator Governor Chamberlain announced his candidacy for the United States Senate, and won.

Reviewing the nineteen questions of legislative and constitutional policy which the people of Oregon voted upon this year the question naturally arises, How was it that the voters were able to reach the manifestly intelligent decisions on these various issues? First, they largely depended upon the advice of their trusted leaders. Secondly, each voter was supplied with a campaign text-book issued by the secretary of state, setting forth the

measures to be voted upon and the arguments for and against that were filed in his office. The expense of printing the arguments and distributing them was partially borne by those who presented them.

Under the direct-vote system the ignorant and careless voters who went to the polls failed to mark the referendum questions. They did not know whether to place a cross in the square containing "Yes" or "No." Even in Oregon with its unusually intelligent population, almost wholly American, from seven to thirty per cent. of those who voted for candidates for the United States Senate did not vote on the referendum questions,* though thoroughly presented, as we have shown. But two years before the percentage who did not vote was considerably higher, being thirteen to twenty-four per cent.† The automatic disfranchisement of the ignorant and careless is one of the best features of the Initiative and Referendum. In the city of Wilmington, June, 1907, the negroes did not mark the referendum questions. The comparatively small vote on referendum measures is a demonstration that there is no purchasing of votes.

Many of the advantages to the people of Oregon from their possession of the sovereign power are clearly apparent. But the deep-seated changes that are in operation are not yet comprehended. Only the fulness of time will completely disclose them. A new civilization is building. The citizens are self-governing, instead of being ruled by the few, which stimulates them tremendously, and the distinctly moral issues are coming more and more to the front. Under Proportional Representation few measures will

*The total vote for the nominees for the United States Senate at the Oregon general election, 1908, was 102,000, while the vote on the question of woman suffrage was 95,528, and on the establishment of Hood River county, 70,726.

†In the 1907 general election the vote for Governor was 96,715 and the vote on the woman suffrage amendment was 83,855, while the lowest referendum vote was 63,155, on the proposition to levy a state tax on the gross receipts of sleeping-car companies, refrigerator companies and oil companies.

be put to a popular vote, for all the voters will be proportionately represented and by their greatest leaders, and every aid to the people's advancement that science can give will be used. The possibilities for human development are beyond our comprehension, for each advance may make possible that which we of to-day have not even dreamed.

The clearly evident changes in Oregon since the Initiative and Referendum were established, five years ago, are as follows: The rule of the few has been abolished by installing the people's rule. The rule of the few was through deception, corruption and graft, the people's rule is open and above board. The ruling few granted to themselves special privileges, which the people's rule is eliminating. Special privileges resulted in concentration of wealth, which the people's rule is decentralizing and in two ways: By discontinuing the special privileges and by readjusting public taxes. When the few were in power they partially exempted themselves from law enforcement, but the people's rule is resulting in rigorous enforcement of the law. Under the rule of the few there probably was a considerable loss of jury trial—government by injunction, but the mere restoration of the people's rule in Oregon is preventing injunction abuses. Not an anti-injunction bill has been introduced in the Oregon legislature. Under the rule of the few the public-school facilities for the people's children were inadequate, but under the people's rule they are abundant. The Swiss, for example, are noted for their public schools, colleges and universities. In Geneva, a city of 118,000, there is maintained at public expense, a university with a faculty of 100 professors.‡

The Swiss have possessed their freedom for a number of years and therefore the changes are farther along. Following is an excellent description by Professor A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, in the closing paragraph of his two-

‡Government in Switzerland, by John Martin Vincent, p. 171.

volume work, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*:

"The Swiss Confederation is, on the whole, the most successful democracy in the world. Unlike almost every other state in Europe, it has no irreconcilables—the only persons in its territory who could, in any sense, be classed under that name being a mere handful of anarchists, and those, as in our own land, are foreigners. The people are contented. The government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown, the appointments to office are not made for political purposes, by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do their work; and yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist. . . . Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed."

Passing to a general description of Oregon's system of government, the reader should note that it is representative; that is, the government is one in which the voters employ representatives while retaining a veto power, through the Referendum, which is compulsory for proposed changes in the written constitution and optional for such other measures as the legislature may pass except urgency measures—measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety. The voters have also retained the power to legislate directly through the Initiative. It is clear that the system as a whole is Representative Government, in which the people's interests are better protected than when they were without a veto power and without the power of direct-legislation.

But as yet the Oregon legislature does not fully represent the people, for the people have vetoed some of its acts and have directly enacted several measures. And the state convention of the largest party in the state did not represent the people, as we have shown. The principle remedy, so the Oregonians think, is

Proportional Representation; namely, the election of ten, fifteen or twenty members to the legislature from a large district, each voter's ballot to help elect some one. Thus if ten members are to be elected then each one-tenth of the voters will elect a representative. The farmers will elect their share, the business men theirs, the fishermen theirs, and the wage-earners will elect their own representatives. At present each member of the legislature is elected from a small district, and his nomination and election are more or less influenced by the party machine and by the funds contributed by the special interests. Then, too, in each district a small number of voters hold the balance of power. This tends toward vote-purchasing in the election of candidates. All will be changed when the large districts are used, for each interest will nominate its leaders and will elect them. Thus each interest will be represented by its very best men. In short, real representative government will be restored. Representative government started with a representation of interests—the commons, barons, clergy and king, and the restoration of representation by interests will result in representative government.

Proportional Representation in the city councils will probably be a better system than the Des Moines plan. Under the Des Moines plan the city council is limited to five members each of whom is elected by the majority, but under Proportional Representation the people in all the various walks of life will be fully and fairly represented by their most eminent leaders.

After Proportional Representation is in working order in Oregon the Initiative petition and Referendum petition will seldom be used. But it was only through the initiative (or advisory initiative) that Proportional Representation could be installed, and then only after various other reforms had been accomplished. At two general elections preceding the last one the people voted on initiative measures.

It also should be noted that the initiative system is much better for the people than the securing of a constitutional convention, because there is no monopoly of the power to propose amendments. Any eight-per-cent. group of voters in Oregon are able to suggest improvements. In a constitutional convention this power is limited to the few delegates.

They possess a monopoly of the power to propose amendments and, with the exception of Oklahoma, have been able to prevent a return to the people's rule. In Oklahoma the people captured the constitutional convention through the questioning of candidates by a committee representing the organized farmers and organized wage-earners. In this way the people's rule issue was squarely raised, and the people protected their interests. Seventy of the 112 delegates were pledged to twenty-six people's-rule measures. In the recent constitutional convention in Michigan the proposal that twenty per cent. of the voters may suggest constitutional amendments is loaded down with a proviso that the legislature by majority vote may refuse to submit them.

Oregon was one of the pioneers in establishing direct-legislation for state questions, and her system is somewhat crude as compared with Oklahoma's, adopted during the past few months. Oklahoma's system is a duplicate of the one proposed for the nation. In Oklahoma the law provides that a copy of each initiative measure shall be filed with the Senate and another with the House, so that the usual committee hearings may be had and a competing measure framed, after which there will be an opportunity for debate. After each measure is finally disposed of, an argument for and against it is to be prepared in writing by two committees, one representing the petitioners and the other the legislature. For each measure the argument is not to exceed 2,000 words for each side, of which one-fourth may be in answer to opponent's argument. Then the joint arguments, together with the full text of the measure and a sample

ballot, are to be printed by the government and a copy delivered to each voter. This is the only way that the principal facts can reach the voters. Furthermore, it is the least expensive method, and each voter will pay his share, for it will be at government expense. The other alternative, according to President Roosevelt and others, is for the government to grant a subsidy to each political party. Bills and constitutional amendments submitted through the Oklahoma system will be open for further discussion by the people for at least three months before election day, and then the ignorant and careless voters will, as usual, fail to mark their referendum ballots. This will leave the decision with the intelligent voters.

Compare this system with that in New York state or Massachusetts. There the party platforms submit issues, but there is no way whereby the people can vote on them separately; indeed they cannot vote on them at all except to support one party machine or the other. This crude method cannot continue, for a better one is developed, and the evolutionary forces are irresistible.

Among the lessons to be drawn from a study of social evolution are the following, summarized by Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B., D.C.L., in the introduction to his two-volume work, *Democracy in Europe*:

"This constant development of popular influence, as the result of the intellectual and material progress of nations, *must therefore be accepted as a natural law.*

"Such a law, like other laws which shape the destinies of man, is to be reverently studied, and accepted without prejudice, as a beneficent influence designed for the general benefit of society. Let us not be too prone to condemn, or to dread it, as a social danger. Rather let us learn to interpret it rightly, and to apply it, with careful discernment, to the government of free states. If it be a law that the progressive civilization of a nation increases the power of the people, let that power be welcomed, and grad-

ually associated with the state. The same cause which creates the power also qualifies the people to exercise it. In a country half-civilized, popular power is wielded by a mob; in a civilized community it is exercised by the legitimate agencies of freedom—by the press, by public discussion, by association, and by electoral contests. If ignored, distrusted, defied, or resisted by rulers, it provokes

popular discontents, disorders and revolution; if welcomed and propitiated, it is a source of strength and national union. To discern rightly the progress of society, and to meet its legitimate claims to political influence, has become one of the highest functions of modern statesmanship."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

THE DENVER CONVENTION.

By EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D., M. DIP.,

Special Staff Correspondent for THE ARKANA.

WHETHER or not it was felt at the time that Denver was selected as the place for the Democratic National Convention of this year that the West would be the political battleground in the present campaign, or whether it was selected unconsciously in obedience to the law that "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," I will not attempt to determine. Whatever may have been the cause, the place chosen for the Democratic Convention is several hundred miles further west than any at which national conventions have previously been held. I am inclined to think that it was a happy selection in more ways than one. It made it evident that no section has a monopoly upon civic pride. At great expense, half a million dollars, the city provided a convention hall which for the purpose has few, if any, equals in the world. It was also made clear that no other city of equal size in the United States could care for the immense crowd with as little strain—for Denver is a city of tourists. The bracing air from the Rockies was a pleasant and really helpful tonic, but more invigorating and more stimulating for the work in hand was the political atmosphere characteristic of the western temperament.

It was my good fortune to arrive in

Denver in advance of the vanguard of the political army, and to watch the trend of sentiment with the opening of each new headquarters, the "claims" of each political manager, and the arrival of each trainload of camp-followers. From the very beginning to the grand finale it became increasingly evident that the issue as to the choice of a standard-bearer was clearly drawn—it was a question of whether the wishes of the ninety per cent. or of the ten per cent. of the party should govern. If the wishes of the ninety per cent. were to govern, then it was clear that Bryan would be nominated; if the ten per cent., then some one else—either Gray or Johnson. Now, it may be that the ninety per cent. were wrong and the ten per cent. right, but if the ninety per cent. are not more likely to be right than the ten per cent., the underlying principle of republican government—the rule of the majority—is radically wrong. I shall not use space here in defense of that principle. Its defense is to be found in the whole history of the United States.

In certain quarters one would hear the half-vehement, half-plaintive cry that the party was dominated by Bryan, that if the party could get rid of Bryan it would stand a chance to succeed. But when I

inquired who in the Democratic party was under obligation to take orders from Bryan, provided his better judgment impelled him to do otherwise, I was answered by silence or vociferation. Neither of these being satisfactory, I called for a bill of particulars, which as yet has not been presented. A calm view of the situation forced me to the conclusion that Bryan's dominance of the Democratic party is not due to force or fraud, to a subsidized press or political patronage, nor yet to the factitious circumstance of political success. It is due rather to the fact that Bryan best expressed what the vast majority of the party think and feel. To me it is as clear as the noonday beam that the Democratic party could at any time "get rid of" Bryan, if the majority wanted to get rid of him. The Republican party might as well talk of increasing its chances of success by getting rid of Roosevelt, when Roosevelt is the vitalizing force in it, as for the Democratic party to talk of increasing its chances of success by getting rid of Bryan who as an exponent of the thought and feeling of the rank and file of the party is first to such a degree that there is no second.

The bulk of the talk about increasing the chances of Democratic success by eliminating Bryan does not make half good nonsense; it runs counter to past political experience. If I err in this, Judge Parker will correct me—no Democrat can be elected President of the United States without the Bryan following. Like the Rooseveltian following, that of Bryan is not simply an aggregation of partisans—it is a popular, a personal following. Such a following cannot be controlled by party machinery, it is not a commodity which can be delivered to another, even by the will of its leader; the direction in which it will move can be determined only by the individual wills of its members. This may seem strange doctrine to political bosses, but it is nevertheless a factor to be reckoned with.

It may as well be admitted that

Bryan's dominance over the Denver Convention was as complete as that of Roosevelt at Chicago; with this difference, that Bryan did not content himself, as did Roosevelt, with a half-way job. The progress of the campaign is making it increasingly clear that among the mistakes made at the Chicago convention the most costly in its consequences is that of President Roosevelt who, being in complete control, should have contented himself with naming the candidate for the major office and allowed the reactionary element to do the balance of the work. As a result of this, the work of the Democratic convention, contrary to precedent, has far greater consistency and coherency than does that of the Republicans. Put in slightly different language, the steam-roller could have been used to better advantage in paving the way to election than to nomination.

The temporary organization emphasized a fact to which I have already called attention, viz., that the center of political gravity has shifted perceptibly westward. It was no accident that Mr. Bell was made temporary chairman; it was one act in a play, the dominant note in which was to keep as far away from Wall street as possible. Yet, be the motive what it may, the choice was a good one. As presiding officer he was eminently fair in his rulings and his keynote speech was progressive without being radical, practical rather than visionary, possessed of oratory without bombast, vigor without rant, intensely earnest yet free from partisan bitterness. In this last respect it contrasted very favorably with that of the permanent chairman.

It was as unfortunate as it was unnecessary that the tribute of respect due Grover Cleveland by the Democratic party assembled in convention should have been given a partisan tinge. There was no reason in the nature of things why a resolution could not be introduced without stirring up hatred, which would reveal a sense of loss without even the appearance of attempting to convert that

loss into political gain. But somebody's press agent became over-active and it became noised about that the Marc Antony of the occasion might not confine his remarks to the virtues of his dead friend, but might allow his funeral oration to shade off into a political stump-speech. Against the impropriety and possible consequences of such a proceeding, precautions were taken.

Perhaps the most radical, and certainly the most suggestive act of the convention was that of the credentials committee in unseating the Guffey delegates. It was abundantly clear to all that the real question was not which set of delegates should be allowed a vote in the convention, for their votes would produce no appreciable effect upon the work of the body, but the real question was: Should Guffey be allowed to remain at the head of the political machinery of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania? In deciding this question, the committee considered itself called upon to sit not as a court of law but as a board of arbitrators with power to adopt their own rules of evidence and procedure. Having reached the conclusion that the question they were deciding was not one of law or vested rights, but one of political expediency, the committee decided by an emphatic majority that the organization must be freed from control by Guffey and the corrupting influences of which he is the willing agent. Though the minority carried this fight to the floor of the convention, here again the controversy was decided by no five to four majority, but by so decisive a vote as to make it certain that there are other elements besides water with which oil does not mix well. This contest made clear another fact, to wit: if by any means the question of state's rights can be injected into a controversy, many of the Southern leaders can, from that point on, see nothing else in the controversy. Whatever may be said as to the legal technicalities involved in the contest, it is tolerably free from doubt that political expediency, which in this case coincided

with political consistency, demanded the decapitation of Guffey; and most of us have comparatively little difficulty in controlling our grief over his sad fate.

As I have already intimated, the choice of permanent chairman was not as happy as that of temporary chairman. Mr. Clayton, by making a personal attack upon President Roosevelt, made what, in my judgment, was the most uncalled-for and most costly mistake that was made during the whole proceeding. There was, so far as could be seen, no excuse for his allowing prejudice to get the better of his judgment and drive him into making an attack which was as unjust as it was impolitic. If his purpose had been to drive as many votes as possible from Bryan to Taft, he could not have accomplished that purpose as effectively in any other way. But it is to be presumed that this was not the purpose and that the attack was a gratuitous blunder.

It is neither possible nor desirable to discuss here in detail the various planks of the platform. Neither would it be at all fitting to omit all reference to the platform. Beginning with the plank about which there was the most controversy, both inside and outside the committee, we find this difference between it and the anti-injunction plank in the Chicago platform—it says something. Neither can it in fairness be said to be anarchistic or even radical. It is simply a protest against a relatively recent and extensive exploitation of the equity powers of the inferior federal courts. If either is an attack upon the courts, then both are, for both alike assert that there is need of legislation limiting the judicial powers as regards injunctions. The difference is that the Democratic plank furnished a much more explicit guide to legislative action.

The tariff plank is so in accord with the traditional attitude of the party upon the tariff question that it furnished no surprise and calls for no comment. The same is true of the income-tax plank, which is the natural concomitant of the tariff plank. It may, however, be well

in this connection to call attention to a difficulty which, so far as I can find, the platform does not meet. The placing of trust-controlled goods upon the free list would result in a large deficit. The time required to get an income tax amendment incorporated into the Constitution would be considerable, if indeed, such an amendment could be passed at all. How is the deficit to be provided for in the interim?

The trust plank is as clear and explicit as could be desired. Though after the treatment accorded Guffey, it might be questioned whether any further action was necessary to make clear the attitude of the convention toward trusts. Guffey was told emphatically by the convention that the "twilight zone" for him and his is a political, not a legal one.

The plank providing for publicity in the matter of campaign contributions, upon which great emphasis is sure to be thrown during the campaign, was pronounced shaky timber by the architects of the Chicago platform. Since the Chicago Convention, Mr. Taft and his campaign managers have, however, come to look with much greater favor upon this plank than did the "old guard," but are of opinion that with reference to this subject, as well as the tariff, the time for action is "after election."

It is reasonable to suppose that the plank providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote will come in for a fair share of attention. This is another plank which the "builders rejected." The proposition to make this change is amply supported by logic as well as by popular sentiment. That the people desire it is evidenced by the fact that in many states they have forced this change without waiting for a change in legal forms. The opposition comes mainly from two classes: first, those opposed to change as such, and, second, United States Senators.

The plank providing for a governmental guarantee of bank deposits will, because of its relative newness, be widely

discussed and, if I mistake not, will prove an element of strength in the platform. The scare which thousands of depositors received during the past year has placed many of them in a receptive frame of mind, so that sensible discussion of this plank is sure to receive a respectful hearing. By sensible discussion I mean discussion tending to prove its practicability or impracticability and not simply high-temperated appeals to class prejudice. On the face of it the proposition does not look unreasonable to the average man. It is not apparent that taxing banks to provide a fund to be used in case of accident to one or more of them differs radically from taxing laborers to provide an accident fund. It would be reasonably sure to have one wholesome effect: it would cause bankers to combine in order to enforce a more rigid inspection of banks. There may be conclusive reasons why the plan is impracticable; if so, these reasons will no doubt be set forth during the campaign. Otherwise, many will conclude that the chances of success are sufficient to warrant the experiment.

The plank calling for the exclusion of Asiatics is, in my judgment, unwise. It is evidently intended as a sop to certain classes on the Pacific coast. But throwing such sops at the risk of straining international friendships is a policy of very doubtful expediency. Time was when it was fashionable to cudgel England in political platforms, but England understood the exigencies of party politics better and was less likely to take such political buncombe seriously than is the case with Asiatics.

The planks relating to the navy and the Philippines are, fortunately, more conservative than might have been expected. They are delightfully, and, I think, intentionally vague. Neither these nor the planks regarding internal improvements, irrigation, corporate regulation, preservation of natural resources, and the Panama Canal differ substantially from the corresponding planks in the Chicago platform.

With the platform adopted without

division, the decks were cleared for action; because while the committee on resolutions and platforms were deliberating the nominating speeches for head of the ticket had been made, under suspension of the rules. Up to this time there had been two very marked demonstrations of enthusiasm—one when Mr. Gore, the blind Senator from Oklahoma, referred to the attitudes of Bryan and Taft toward the Oklahoma constitution, and the other when Bryan's name was presented to the Convention as candidate for the Presidency. Though these demonstrations may in part have been made to order, they were in the main spontaneous outbursts of genuine admiration, of which neither the delegates nor the galleries had any monopoly.

By the time a ballot was reached, it did not need any ballot to determine who would be the nominee for head of the ticket. Whether the two-thirds rule or the majority rule was applied made no difference—Bryan was the choice of the convention. It needed no pressure to hold the Bryan following in line, the whole supply of pressure was used up in holding the roof on. The fact that Bryan had been twice defeated did not exercise much influence over the delegates. And indeed it should not, for no one who does much thinking upon the subject will conclude that any Democrat could have been elected President in either 1896 or 1900. During the first of these campaigns the majority had made up their minds that they were going to have a change of administration, and during the second campaign they were equally determined not to have any change; this determination lasted during 1904 and whether or not it still exists is a question which cannot be answered definitely until after the election. I think, however, that it is entirely safe to say that it is not so pronounced as it once was.

If one seeks an explanation of the hold which Bryan has upon his party and upon the American people regardless of party,

he will find it in the personality of the man. The abiding factor in his career is the fact that he possesses a remarkably strong and attractive personality. However evanescent may be the prestige due to titles or official position, to wealth or control of political machinery, strength of character is something permanent. It is no mean tribute to his worth as a man that, although for twelve years he has been subjected to criticism and ridicule by the press of the opposing party and to bitter denunciation by a large part of the press of his own party, no specific instances of dishonesty, corruption or lack of manly principle have ever been suggested. Those who know him best are not the ones who think him dangerous. It is now too late in the day to argue that his position at the head of the list of American private citizens is due to cheap methods—cheap methods are always short-lived.

The nominee for the Vice-Presidency is a man of clean record and considerable ability. His nomination will add strength to the ticket in a section where strength is needed; it is cumulative evidence that the Middle West is to be made the battleground of the campaign. Like Bryan, he has been twice defeated. But in his case also fairness compels the admission that, at the times he ran, no Democrat could have been elected. The fact of his defeats will, therefore, not have great weight with thinking people.

It is too early yet to predict with safety the outcome of the campaign. But this much may be safely predicted—the outcome will depend upon how the Democratic candidates and platform appeal to the small property-holders, for it is reasonably certain that it is the votes of this class, fortunately a large one in the United States, which will decide the election. Neither the millionaire nor the *sans culotte* can control elections in the United States, and it will be unfortunate if the time ever comes when they can.

EDWIN MAXEY.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

THE SEWERAGE SYSTEM OF SAN ANTONIO.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

[NOTE: In Rabbi Schindler's social romance, *Young West*, a sequel to *Looking Backward*, which was published several years ago, the hero was represented as being elected president of the republic as a token of the nation's appreciation of his services in discovering a practical plan by which the sewage of the American towns and cities could be quickly utilized for renewing the exhausted soil. Through this discovery millions upon millions of almost worthless acres of land were brought to the highest state of cultivation. In the following highly suggestive short paper by Mr. George Wharton James we have the story of a practical demonstration of this utilization of a city's waste.—Editor of THE ARENA.]

ONE OF the most interesting examples of the potential value of a city's sewage is found in San Antonio, Texas, where the city's refuse is utilized in a manner that is proving exceedingly profitable to those who control the monopoly.

The sewerage system of this city is fairly complete, the outfall terminating in a sewerage farm, ten miles distant. The city has given a grant for ninety-nine years to an irrigation company which controls the entire output of the outfall for irrigation purposes. Under the terms of the contract the lessee, the San Antonio Irrigation Company, took the sewage six miles out from the city and built five miles of canal. Through this canal the surplus sewage not used in irrigation flows upon an extensive filter-bed, which removes all solids and allows the liquid to enter a storage-basin which covers about a thousand acres. This basin is a natural lake and acts as a septic tank on a large scale. It is very shallow, and the sun's rays, penetrating to the bottom, purify the liquid, so that while at the north end it enters as sewage, the overflow which occurs at times of heavy rains leaves at the south end clear and pure. This has been confirmed again and again by chemical tests and shows how the power of the sun acts as a natural purifier. The overflow finally reaches the Medina river, a small stream which, twenty-two miles

below the city, empties into the San Antonio river.

The lands that are irrigated by water from this sewage lake are in the Medina Valley and comprise nine thousand acres. Of these about one thousand are now under cultivation and the results have been so gratifying that the Irrigation Company is improving the remaining eight thousand acres as speedily as it can. Water is drawn from the lake by gravity and the entire system is worked without pumping. The farmers who live along the line of the outfall canal also, seeing the advantages of sewage irrigation, are purchasing water and placing their lands under cultivation. Experiments have demonstrated that forage plants produce the best and most satisfactory crops, though such vegetables as beets, Bermuda onions and the like that grow underground, also thrive abundantly.

As the plant has been in operation since 1903, there has been time enough to come to definite conclusions about some things and Mr. R. H. Russell, the manager of the company, is assured that the sewage contains all the elements needed to perfectly restore the soil without any other fertilizer. So that it provides it not only with the moisture needed for good and constant crops, regardless of the seasons, but is also a constant renovator of the land.

Where possible the sewage is used as it comes from the outfall, but, where the water is used from the "clear end" of the lake, the solids from the beds of the canals, ditches and filters are spread over the land as are any other fertilizers and good results thus obtained. The surplus of solids is sold to nearby farmers who eagerly purchase all they can obtain.

The fall of the sewer from the city to the canal is 4.22 feet per mile, and the main canal is sixty feet above the level of

the lake or sewerage-basin. The filter-bed is a stretch of land about three-quarters of a mile wide, and this will ultimately be used for cultivation. Provision necessarily has to be made for an overflow, owing to a sudden storm. About twelve million gallons a day flow out from the outfall, and of this it is estimated that fully four millions of gallons is of water supplied from gravel beds through which the sewer passes and into which this overflow of water is diverted, and a large percentage of the balance is from artesian wells, thus largely diluting the sewage.

Here, then, is a positive demonstration of the utility of a sewage farm. A city

of some 85,000 inhabitants gets rid of its sewage in a safe, reasonable, healthful and economical manner, and, had the council of San Antonio been alive to the possibilities and requirements at an early day, the farm now owned by an individual would have been bought when land was cheap, for the city, and the city would thus have controlled its own sewage farm forever. As it is, the lease expires in ninety-nine years. If at that time the owner of the land has other plans, the city is put to the expense of devising some new way of ridding itself of the sewage.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, California.

RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION IN FRANCE.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE RECENT vote of the French Senate on June 27th in favor of the bill providing for the purchase of the Western Railroad, terminates one of the longest and bitterest fights in the annals of French politics.

During the past sixty years a number of measures providing for the purchase of part or all of the French railroads, have been introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies. In 1848 such a proposition was brought forward by M. Duclerc, Minister of Finance; in 1872 another similar proposal was made by Messrs. Gambetta, Rouvier, Brisson and others; in 1873 M. Janzé advocated the purchase of the "Eastern" road; in 1876 M. Lescne introduced a bill providing for a general purchase of the railroads of the country, and was vigorously supported in his efforts by the eminent statesman and railroad authority, M. Richard Waddington; in 1880 M. Varroy, Minister of Public Works, submitted to the Chamber a plan for enlarging the state line by the

purchase of a part of the Orleans road; in 1883 M. Allain-Targé demanded the purchase of this entire road; in 1894 several Deputies urged the purchase of the "Western" road; in 1895 and again in 1899 Messrs. Pelletan and other prominent radicals made a vigorous fight in favor of their proposal to purchase the Western and Southern roads; and in 1902 the bill of Messrs. Bourrat, Sembat and others, embodying this same demand actually passed the Chamber of Deputies, to be defeated in the Senate.

Since this partial success a number of similar proposals have been made, several commissions have been appointed to investigate the matter, and some vigorous discussions of the question have taken place in the Chamber of Deputies. In fact, since 1902 the question of state ownership of railroads has been almost constantly up for discussion both before the bar of French public opinion as well as before the French Parliament.

The Clemenceau Ministry, which came

into power as a result of the elections of May, 1905, was elected on a platform advocating the government ownership of railroads. As many prominent members of the radical party, however, were either lukewarm on the State Railroad proposition, or actually opposed to it, the Prime Minister was obliged to make a hard parliamentary fight before he succeeded in pushing his railroad-purchase bill through the Chamber of Deputies on December 8, 1906. Moreover his troubles did not end here. When his bill reached the Senate, it was referred to a committee which had been packed against it, and a strong report was made in favor of private railroads. Fortunately, however, for the Prime Minister, a peculiar political situation faced the radical party. A majority of its electors, like the Premier, believed in this plank in the platform, and it became apparent that an open, bare-faced repudiation of their preëlection pledges in regard to this matter might result in driving a half-million of their voters into the ranks of the Socialists. Therefore when this summer M. Clemenceau gave notice to Parliament and to the country that he would make the railway-purchase bill a question of confidence in the ministry, or in other words that he would stake his official head on the passage of this bill, there was nothing left for the Senate to do but to swallow its prejudices, throw away its abstract *laissez faire* principles, and fall into line.

This measure, while it provides for the purchase of only one important railroad, i. e., the "Western," is, nevertheless, strategically of the very greatest importance. For a long time both friends and enemies of the principle of government ownership realized that, largely on the issue of this conflict, was to be determined the future railway policy of France.

It is true that, since 1878, France has had one line of state railroad, but this line, composed of little bankrupt roads, came into government hands rather by hazard than as a result of deliberate decision of the French people to establish a

system of governmental railroads. Never before have the French people, the French Chamber of Deputies and the French Senate, all gone on record in favor of the principle of government ownership. For the past three years the French nation has hesitated and debated at this parting of the ways, until at last under the able leadership of Premier Clemenceau the Rubicon has been crossed and France has joined the ranks of those nations which believe in the public ownership and operation of the chief public highways of the nation.

STORY OF FRENCH RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT.

France was slow in beginning the construction of her railroads. While about sixty years ago private speculative enterprise already was actively engaged in railroad construction in England, and while Belgium was well under way with a net-work of state railroads connecting its chief industrial centers with the Rhine and the sea, France was investigating, hesitating and discussing. To be sure, France was less developed industrially than either England or Belgium and consequently the financial outlook for the roads was less brilliant. Moreover, the important psychological fact must not be overlooked that in money matters the French by nature are extremely prudent, methodical and logical. They like to have a complete and detailed plan of what they intend to do before they begin operations. Therefore, in 1833, instead of launching out on an era of railroad building, the Chamber of Deputies voted a lump sum of \$100,000, together with a yearly allowance of \$10,000 to defray the expenses of necessary investigations, and requested the state engineers to prepare plans for a *national system* of French railways.

Subsequent developments have shown this conservative and intelligent method of procedure to have been eminently practical. As a result of it France never has built

a superfluous mile of road, while England, in accordance with her utterly impractical idea of railroad competition, is saddled with hundreds of miles of the most expensively built railroads in the world which never were needed, which were constructed solely for speculative purposes and which, in order to make a reasonable dividend on the capital invested, are forced to-day to charge "the highest rates in Europe."

During this whole preparatory period the French political world was greatly agitated over the question as to whether the construction of the roads should be undertaken by the state or entrusted to private enterprise. The most notable discourse pronounced during this discussion was the speech in favor of government ownership delivered in the Chamber of Deputies May 10, 1838, by the great poet, historian and statesman, Lamartine. Some of his bursts of impassioned eloquence have proven strikingly prophetic.

LAMARTINE'S WARNING.

"Ah, gentlemen!" he cried; "there is a sentiment which has always powerfully moved me while reading history or looking at facts—and that is a horror of corporations, the sense of the incompatibility of sincere and progressive liberty with the existence within a state or a civilization of such bodies. I realize that this is not the prevailing idea, which, on the contrary, attributes to them a sort of correlation with liberty. But without realizing it, in this case, one has in mind aristocratic and not democratic liberty, for if such bodies resist those who are above them they oppress with the same energy those who are underneath. This is the most odious of tyrannies, because it is the most durable—the tyranny with a thousand heads, a thousand lives, a thousand roots, the tyranny which can neither be broken, killed nor extirpated. It is the best form that oppression has ever been able to assume in order to destroy alike individuals and our collective interests. When

once you have created them or allowed them to be born, henceforth they are your masters for centuries. Corporations or that which resembles them, combined interests recognized by law and organized, amount to the same thing—the subjugation prompt, inevitable, and perpetual of all other interests. It is no longer possible to touch them or they will utter a cry frightening or unsettling every one about them. They must be counted with; for those interests which are scattered, isolated, without solidarity, without unity of action, always succumb, inevitably succumb, before interests that have consolidated.

"Free governments are no more exempt from these influences than others; they insinuate themselves everywhere, in the press, in public opinion and in the body politic—finding everywhere associates and allies. Their cause has as many supporters as there are people interested therein. Have we not too many deplorable examples of this before our eyes? Do we not see the entire agricultural and commercial interests of the country oppressed by the combination of a small number of iron-workers, of factory-owners, of industrial concerns favored by bounties, by tariffs which protect only themselves and prove ruinous to every one else? We revolt in vain, we are in their hands, they possess us, they oppress us, and France impotently submits to a loss of from three to four hundred millions a year because to certain special interests of this nature she once allowed rights which to-day she cannot, or dare not, take from them. Sixty or eighty iron manufacturers, with impunity, tyrannize over the whole country.

"Great God! What will be our condition when, according to your imprudent system, you shall have constituted into a unified interest with industrial and financial corporations the innumerable stockholders of the five or six billions of securities which the organization of your railroads will place in the hands of these companies?

"You, the partisans of the liberty and the enfranchisement of the masses, you, who have overthrown feudalism and its tolls, its rights of the past and its boundaries, you are about to allow the railroads to fetter the people and divide up the country among a new feudality, a moneyed aristocracy. Never a government, never a nation has constituted outside of itself a more oppressive money power, a more menacing and encroaching political power than you are going to create in delivering up your soil, your administration, and five or six billions of securities to your private railroad companies.

"I prophesy with certainty that, if you do this, they will be masters of the government before ten years!"

All his eloquence, however, seemed in vain for as a result of the discussion, the proposition presented by the Ministry February 18, 1838, providing for the construction by the state of several important lines, was defeated, and a number of immensely valuable franchises were granted to private companies. Not until they had devoted nearly three-quarters of a century to unsatisfactory experimentation with private railroad monopoly, did the French people at last come to see that Lamartine was right and that the highest welfare of France demanded the nationalization of their great iron highways.

FAILURE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

After this triumph of the corporations in 1838, the railroad history of France is a history of the failure of "private enterprise." Again and again, the companies whose representatives and champions had denounced the incompetence of the state in such matters, and had vaunted their own splendid qualifications for the carrying out of this colossal enterprise, were forced to come cringing before that same state to beg for help. The state, forgiving their former insolence, had compassion on them and granted to some annuities, to others subsidies, and to still others guarantees of interest.

As early as 1840, the government felt called upon to remit certain requirements which had been incorporated into its contract with the "Orleans" line, but which the company seemed unable to live up to. Moreover, as this did not suffice, the government with a truly paternal spirit, again stepped into the breach and guaranteed a minimum rate of interest on the securities of the road. About this same date the government also came to the rescue of several other companies. It loaned the line from Paris to Rouen nearly \$3,000,000; it loaned the line from Rouen to Havre \$2,500,000, and gave it a subsidy of \$1,600,000; it gave the line from Avignon to Marseilles a subsidy of \$6,400,000; and it gave the line from Bordeaux to Cette a subsidy of \$3,000,000.* In 1874 the government gave to the line from Paris to Lyons a more favorable contract, together with substantial financial support, and as the line got into difficulties again in 1848, the government took back its charter, and magnificently reimbursed its stockholders in government bonds for all losses.†

At last, during the revolution of 1848, the railroads of the country got into such financial straits that the government first proposed to buy them all outright, but in 1849, for reasons best known to itself, gave up this plan in favor of an elaborate scheme of "contracts," in accordance with which the government guaranteed to all holders of railroad securities a minimum of interest on their investments. This arrangement in spite of certain modifications incorporated from time to time, notably in 1863, 1868, 1875, 1879 and 1883—in its essential features has remained the same to this day.

STRIKING SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH STATE RAILROAD.

The argument which has contributed most toward persuading the French

**Chemins de fer Français*, Grippon La Motte, pp. 84, 85.

†*Ibid.*, p. 116.

people to embark on a policy of railroad nationalization has been the substantial and striking success of the line of railroad which the state now has owned and operated for over a quarter of a century. The history of the French State Road is a very peculiar and interesting one. It was formed in 1878, out of a lot of little bankrupt local roads which had been constructed without any general plan, were badly connected, or not connected at all, and many of which had not been finished. Without any line connecting them with Paris, they were in every way a most chaotic and impossible aggregation of disconnected pieces of lines, which the state, in its paternalistic capacity of receiver, felt called upon to buy up and transform if possible into a reasonably successful system.

At the beginning of this attempt, it was supposed that the state had only taken charge of these roads until the great corporation could be induced to assume this responsibility; but, as the large roads steadily refused to shoulder this burden on the terms offered by the government, the state necessarily had to hold and to manage them as best it could. A law passed in 1879 provided for the construction of new branch lines, connecting the old ones. Unfortunately, however, to make a bad situation worse, when in 1883 the French railroad system was reorganized, the state, in endeavoring to give a little more cohesion to its system, made a rather disastrous trade of certain of these branch lines to the Orleans and Western Roads for some of their local lines which were nearer to it. The exchanges thus negotiated were most advantageous to these two roads, but proved very costly to the state. To the Orleans Company the state agreed to pay an annuity of 2,348,000 francs until the expiration of its charter, and yet, strange as it may seem, the lines conceded by this company to the state, were making a net profit smaller by at least twenty or twenty-five per cent. than the lines which the state conceded to it.

The deal arranged with the Western Company was very much of the same nature. In giving the state lines the right to take its trains into Paris over the tracks of the Western road, all sorts of ruinous restrictions were imposed upon the state, in addition to a provision requiring it to pay forty per cent. of its gross receipts for all traffic carried over the Western's tracks from Chartres to Paris. After this costly and wholly unfair arrangement had been carried out, the friends and champions of "individual initiative" firmly expected to see the state line languish and die. They intended to use this failure, which they had planned carefully, and to which they were looking forward complacently, as an example of what might be expected of railroads managed by "incompetent government officials." To their great surprise and discomfiture, in spite of its unfavorable beginning and this betrayal of its interests by the government which formulated the "contracts of 1883," and in spite of the further fact that it ran through a region industrially very undeveloped, it nevertheless prospered and grew, and, in many important respects, has made of itself an example which the other railroads of France are finding themselves forced to imitate.

In the words of Professor Berthelemy, "From a commercial point of view, the state line, where free in the matter of rate-making, has made some important reductions, without diminishing its net receipts. The rates on the state road are all lower than those of the private companies."*

As to passenger rates: in 1885, the average rate per kilometer for each passenger was .0466 franc for the companies, and only .036 franc for the state; and, in 1900, was .038 for the companies, and .0299 for the state. This difference is clearly a result of better management—a management which, contrary to the expectations of liberal economists, has shown itself more ready to make innovations than has been that of the corporation

*Rapport by M. Marcel Regnier, 1906, p. 14.

roads. One of the most important of these innovations, the lowering of rates, not only has benefited the traveling and shipping public but, by increasing the traffic of the road, has increased its income. It was the State Road which inaugurated the system of selling return-trip tickets from every station to every other station on its lines. The reduction thus made was thirty per cent., and ten per cent. more for each twenty kilometers, until a maximum of forty per cent. was reached. The companies have been forced by public opinion to follow suit, but they have done it slowly and grudgingly; and, up to the present time, have made reductions on round-trip tickets of only twenty-five per cent. first class, and twenty per cent. for the second and third classes. The state line also was the first to put third-class passenger cars on its express trains; and was the first to have its third-class passenger trains heated. Moreover, on the state lines, the rates for workmen's season tickets are lower than on the company roads. But in spite of all these reductions on the state line, its receipts have continued to increase in a most encouraging way. In 1888 the gross receipts of the state line were 13,886 francs per kilometer; while in 1905, they had risen to 18,457 francs per kilometer, making an increase of thirty-seven per cent. For the company lines, on the other hand, during the same period, the gross receipts per kilometer rose from 36,787 francs to only 42,309 francs per kilometer, an increase of 15.01 per cent.

A comparison of the increase in net receipts makes an even more favorable showing for the state line. The net receipts of the state line in 1889 were 3,139 francs per kilometer, whereas in 1905, they had risen to 5,108 francs, an increase of 62.73 per cent. For the companies the increase during this same time was only from 18,371 francs to 20,793 francs, a net increase of 13.18 per cent.

On looking at these figures one is at once struck by the fact that, whereas the

state line increased its net receipts nearly twice as much as its gross receipts the companies were unable to make as large an increase in their net receipts as in their gross receipts. Surely this state of affairs would seem to indicate that the management of the state line was fully as business-like, as economical and as efficient as that of the company lines.

In the light of these facts, one is not surprised, therefore, that even Mr. C. Colson, who ordinarily stands up stoutly for the companies and for private ownership of railroads, has yet been forced to admit that "All those who have given careful and close attention to the management of the state railroad since it has emerged from its first troubled stage, recognize that, from the point of view of expenditures, this management is in no way inferior, either in efficiency or economy, to the management of the great private companies."*

In the face of this, to some people, rather amazing success of the state lines of France, it is interesting to recall the words of the great orthodox *laissez-faire* economist and politician, M. Leon Say. In 1882, he said: "It is very easy to-day to convince oneself that the operation of this line by the state is one of the most colossal errors that one could have committed. The misfortune is absolute and irremediable. The Budget is crippled, that is evident; the people that are being served are not contented; this is certain. There is to be found, then, in this step neither economic nor political advantage. We cannot continue otherwise than for the purpose of trying the most uncertain and the most costly experiments, at the expense of the taxpayers. It is a disaster.

"The maintenance of this institution, without roots and without reason, resembles the prolongation of the existence of certain industrial enterprises that do not dare to settle up their accounts for fear of bringing to light their losses, and that one

**Les Chemins de Fer et le Budget de la France*, p. 175; *Bulletin de la Commission Internationale du Congrès des Chemins de Fer*, Vol. 8, 1896.

unites successfully with a series of new enterprises, in order to hand on to others the responsibility of a final settlement. It is a burden; it is a ball, which the Budget drags at its feet, and of which it must cut the chains as soon as possible."*

The following year, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the evening before the discussion of the question in the Chamber of Deputies, wrote as follows:†

"The State Railroad system seems to us to be for the public finances a sort of open sore—or, if you wish a comparison more agreeable, it is a plaything of the most costly sort. When the state shall have arrived at ideas less infantile, and when it shall comprehend better the grave state of our finances, it will place this railroad system on sale. Unquestionably, it will receive as rent, or in the shape of interest on the price for which it is sold, larger profits than it receives to-day."‡

How wild and irrational all this sort of talk sounds to-day, in the face of the actual results of state management. Even such strong partisans of private enterprise as M. Plichon and M. Modest Leroy are now forced to admit that, in the words of the former, "The State Road is at present operated in an entirely satisfactory way."§

Perhaps no better *résumé* of the situation has been given than that which was drawn up on March 12, 1900, by the Chamber of Commerce, at La Rochelle. Among other things, this memorial says:

"The state system, as it was constituted in 1878, by the purchase of little bankrupt or unprofitable companies, and then as reconstituted by the contracts of 1883, without any direct connection with Paris, and surrounded on the north and on the east by private companies, of which it is merely a tributary, is not in a condition to permit of any serious com-

parison between the results of its management and those of the private companies. But, in spite of this unavoidable situation, the state system has been able to make the best of the lines which, simply because otherwise they could not have continued to exist, were confided to its management.

"By a unification of the freight and express rates, by the lowering of the price of transportation, and by increasing the rapidity of the transportation of everything, the state has developed the vitality of the Southwestern region which it serves, and, as a consequence, its receipts have been raised from 25,000,000,000 francs in 1885, to 46,000,000,000 francs in 1898."||

FUTURE FRENCH RAILWAY POLICY.

The "state line," which formerly was only 1,812 miles long, henceforth is to be the second longest system in the country, with a length of 5,392 miles, or about one-fifth of the railroad mileage of France. This tripling of the size of the enterprise will give its management a better opportunity than it ever has had before to demonstrate its capacity for successful railway administration. If the enlarged "network" is operated as economically, as honestly and as energetically as the old state line has been, the partisans of the purchase will have no reason to regret their activity in securing the bringing about of this reform. Moreover there is every reason to believe that the new management will prove even more satisfactory than the old. Not only has the enlarged system greater independence and freedom from costly and cramping alliances with other roads, but the government has announced its intention of giving to the new management a greater degree of autonomy and industrial freedom from governmental red tape and routine than it has enjoyed up to the present time.

"The administrative organization," de-

|| *Le Rachat du Chemin de Fer*, by Professor Edgard Milhaud, pp. 146, 147.

**Journal des Economistes*, October, 1882, pp. 162-165.

†*Journal des Debates*, July 7, 1882.

‡*Journal des Debates*, July 7, 1882.

§*Journal Official-Session*, du 21 Janvier, 1904, p. 51.

clared the government,* "to which will be confided the task of operating the new state line, including the old Western road, must possess the autonomy and the suppleness which are indispensable to the efficient management of a large industry; it must furthermore be provided with financial powers which will enable it, by the issuance of bonds, to raise the funds necessary to provide for all expenditures other than actual "operating expenses."

It is interesting to note that the countries which recently have nationalized their railroads, such as Switzerland, Italy and France, have all incorporated into their administrative *régimes* this important improvement. With the extension of the industrial activities of the state has

gradually come about a recognition of the essential distinction to be drawn between the "political state," or the state which governs, and the "industrial state," or the state which operates great business enterprises.

With the introduction of this fundamental reform it has been found that many of the old objections to government ownership have been removed, since to the inherent advantages of this ownership such as management in the public interest, has been added the economic advantage, which for a long time was supposed to be the especial prerogative of private enterprise, i. e., management at the highest possible standard of business efficiency.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

SOME FALLACIES OF CAPTAIN MAHAN.

BY LUCIA AMES MEAD.

A THOUSAND women in their clubs throughout the country vehemently discuss the ethics involved in giving an overdose of chloral to shorten the death agonies of one's best beloved. A thousand men sign a petition to abolish the execution of convicted murderers. Why is it that perhaps not a hundred in either thousand are making practical and earnest effort to end the killing of myriads of able-bodied, innocent men in war?

There are several reasons for this paradox. The power to put one's self in the other fellow's place, to read statistics with the illumination of imagination and sympathy, is less developed at school than the power to recite exceptions to the rule governing the dative case. A mangled dog in sight compels more tears than the thought of twenty thousand mangled men in Manchuria. Moreover, we are under the obsession of the tradition that the military expert must inevitably best

understand the problem of national defense and that the latter implies armaments solely. When, therefore, a distinguished naval expert and exemplary Christian gentleman discourses on this theme and tells us that war is inevitable, the layman is overawed and dumb. How should one who knows nothing of battleships or of the trajectory of projectiles presume to talk on national defense?

Because national defense depends on many other things than armies and navies; because the military man, with his specialized training, is the very last man to be aware of these, and the layman—the tourist, merchant or diplomat—who has come into contact with other nations in normal relations, may know many things about national defense that the man who studies life in abnormal conditions of war misses.

Said a retired United States rear-admiral during the Boer war: "I tell you what England ought to do. She ought to whip France." "What, now, when

* "Projet de loi sur le régime financier et l'organisation administrative des chemins de fer de l'état," p. 2.

her hands are tied in South Africa?" exclaimed his friend, aghast. "Yes, yes; it would do good and clear the air," was the testy response. "But do you mean to have her go to war about nothing?" "Yes, yes; she could do it and clear the air." Ability to manage a squadron implies little knowledge of statesmanship or international ethics; although, of course, the above gross instance was exceptional and would be as readily condemned by Captain Mahan as by a Quaker.

But Captain Mahan's misconceptions and errors regarding the aims and arguments of the new peace party are typical and therefore important to analyze. First, he darkens understanding by defining war to suit his own fancy and uses the term indiscriminately to cover the literal and figurative use of the word as well as civil war, international war, past war and future war. All conflict he considers war, saying: "All organized force is by degrees war." It should be clearly understood that the peace party opposes only organized, deliberate killing of human beings; its members themselves often share in righteous and necessary conflicts which do not involve the deliberate killing of innocent men. Many ludicrous instances of addled ideas on this subject might be adduced to show the danger in thoughtless use of terms which confound war with all forms of force. In a certain city the window of a church bookshop was filled with gay, alluring juvenile books on war. A press comment on the incongruity of such a spectacle instantly elicited a silent answer (?) to the protest: a large picture of Jesus overturning the tables of the money-changers was placed beside the books! A naïve newspaper reporter once assumed that my objection to international war would involve condemnation of football; and another youth based his supposed disagreement from my position upon his having been obliged to threaten to knock down an insulting companion if he repeated his insult. "But you

would not kill him, would you?" I inquired. "Of course not," was his horrified response. "But I was talking about killing," I rejoined. "Oh, is that the point? Killing? Yes, yes, I see," was his relieved reply.

The muddle-headedness which discerns only a difference in degree and not in kind between organized killing and an organized boycott, or the wholesome thrashing of a schoolyard bully, or such war of words as was waged by the non-resistant, William Lloyd Garrison, seems to be a weakness of many religious journals as well as of military men. The constant assumption that those who condemn future international war are spineless weaklings, devoid of patriotism and the spirit of struggle and adventure, is due to precisely this careless confounding of a form of contest—war—with those manifold other forms of contest in which all brave men should take a valiant part.

Secondly, Captain Mahan's classing of international war with all other forms of strife leads to his conceiving it impossible to end any one form of violence until all are ended. The cause of universal peace he holds is "nothing more than the cause of universal education." The abolitionists of war are in a measure to blame for the common confusion of thought thus evinced. At the National Peace Congress in New York, I do not recall a speaker who called attention to the sharp distinction to be drawn between international war, which can be ended by proper organization, and civil war, lynchings, murder, which cannot be thus ended. Only one leaflet distributed by the committee in charge made clear that "these are in another category from international war." The failure to make this clear distinction is largely responsible for the widespread assumption that peace advocates are attempting the impossible or what is possible only in the millennium. If international war could end only when other forms of violence cease, the new peace party, which is animated by the

hope of ending it within a century, would indeed be a throng of dreamers and deserving of the amused contempt they so often have received. It is precisely because the end of international war does not require the general education of the world, but only the active coöperation of a slight fraction of the most intelligent, that it may be accomplished a thousand years before other forms of violence have wholly disappeared and before licentiousness, corruption, greed, intemperance, all deeply rooted in existing industrial and social conditions, can cease. The few who will accomplish this are editors, parliamentarians, captains of industry and labor, teachers and preachers in five or six of the great nations of the world—one or two million persons all told. To achieve international peace the bulk of fifteen hundred million people on the globe are negligible. Let the leading nations begin disarmament, and all others will be only too glad to follow their leadership. China's 400,000,000 will be only too thankful to save their taxes for constructive purposes when relieved of the menace of the great powers. Neither Hague Conferences nor Hague Courts will prevent or settle civil strife. Theoretically that may break out indefinitely, though practically it would be less frequent as international war ceased. But the prohibition of war loans, advocated by Richard Cobden and recently by Secretary Straus and Hon. William J. Bryan, might indirectly bring outside influence beneficently to bear on civil as well as on international war.

Eliminate from consideration our two civil wars—the Revolution, "fought between the progressive and retrogressive parties on both sides of the Atlantic,"* and the Rebellion, and the consideration of our own problems becomes much easier and the objector more easily answered. We are seen to have had no wars since the Revolution except those of our own making. The Mexican war, General Grant, who fought in it,

*John Fiske.

justly called iniquitous; and, if Minister Woodford's official letters from Spain fairly state the case, many are justified in the conclusion that, had it not been for yellow journalism and the blowing up of the "Maine" from some still unknown cause, we might, by other methods, have relieved Cuba without war and its subsequent entanglements in the East. In regard to our wars with foreign powers, which, during over ninety years, have lasted only two and a half years and have involved no invasion, there is serious difference of opinion as to their excuse. The consideration of war problems is greatly simplified when clear definitions remove the fog which vague and varied use of terms by even such masters of English as Captain Mahan throw around the difficult subject. When it is seen that abolitionists of war share the general reverence for the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and, in general, are wasting little time in condemning wars which took place before substitutes for war were provided, much of the hostile criticism towards their efforts is shown to be irrelevant.

Thirdly. Captain Mahan derides the efficacy of organization as a promoter of peace because human nature is not likely to change much for many a century. He writes: "There are no short cuts by which men may be made peaceful. If the world could have been saved by an organization it would have been saved a thousand years ago by the Christian church." The fallacy here is in confounding states with individuals. In 1787, less than one hundred men worked out in our Constitutional Convention the method which has prevented war between any two of our own states ever since. In like manner, a comparatively few, even of the one or two millions above mentioned, will work out the methods of preventing war between any two nations.

All this involves no more change of human nature than that which has made a strong, united Germany out of a score or more of separate units whithin a gen-

eration; it involves no better human nature than that which exists in our own country without war *between* one state and another, although we are preëminent in homicides, lynching and *within* our states. Human nature doubtless is improving, and improving faster than fruits and flowers under the magic hand of Luther Burbank; but it is organization, not improved human nature, which prevents such old-time wars as were carried on between Italian cities in the days of Dante and Saint Francis. The Christ of the Andes, which commemorates the pledge of eternal peace between Chili and Argentina when they escaped imminent war by arbitration, is one of many refutations of Captain Mahan's statements, so far as governments are concerned. This does not mean that individuals of the two nations will never commit murder, or that they have not latent the possibility of fiendish conduct upon sufficient provocation. Organization removes the provocation between states, and leaves evil possibilities deeply latent, never to be realized. The reason that most Americans are not throwing bombs at officials, like the oppressed and maddened Russian revolutionist, is because their innate devilry has no occasion to develop in that direction. It goes without saying that no loose organization of believers like the "Christian church" can ever remove the tariff walls and the political and economic obstructions which create hostility; this, constitutions and and treaties can alone affect.

The United States Supreme Court was the shortest cut to peace that the world ever saw, and, though it could not prevent rebellion of one-half the nation against the Federal government, it has prevented perhaps a dozen interstate conflicts. At this moment Virginia and West Virginia are having a suit over a question involving \$15,000,000, which will be settled without strife or ill feeling, and the majority of citizens in both states will hardly know of its existence. Much smaller differences have led to wars

between European countries. The average nation, much more than the average man, keeps the peace when this is made easy. International organization of self-governing peoples is the short cut to international peace. Captain Mahan's claim that peace can be attained only by "that same slow process by which we have attained our present civilization" ignores the fact that, in this age of endless forms of organization, rapid communication and widespread education, the progress of past centuries is now being equaled in decades, not merely in material achievements, but in mental and spiritual advance. With one bound, China has advanced intellectually more in ten years than in the previous thousand. Japan and Mexico in fifty years have achieved more than in two hundred previously. International peace no more demands the "slow processes" of the past than does international business. In fact, it is the demand of the constructive business mind that the lack of law and insecurity now evidenced by the existing system of defense shall cease. At present, this system in our own country consumes nearly seventy per cent. of the total national revenue—by which is meant that more than two-thirds of our entire national income are applied to paying for past and possible future wars, leaving less than a bare third for constructive purposes. What is true of us is substantially true of European nations.

Besides failing to draw distinction between international and civil war, Captain Mahan still further darkens understanding by confounding in one category all forms of repressive force. He asserts that the abolitionists of international war are practically saying, "It is wicked for society to organize and utilize force for the control of evil." Now only Tolstoi and his very few followers hold that all use of physical force is wrong. Not one in fifty of the opponents of international war takes that view. But, just as they discriminate between the kind of war which an organized world can speedily

end, and civil war, which it cannot thus prevent, so they distinguish between the use of a minimum of force necessary to achieve a judicial decision and the use of the maximum of force to settle questions irrespective of a judicial decision. The peace party believes in police; the latter's business in common civil society is, so far as it uses force at all, to use the least amount necessary to get a man before twelve disinterested jurymen and a judge, to have his case tried by law, after evidence has been given. The police have no right to execute punishment themselves, nor to beat any man who goes readily to court. The militia is a state police, intimidating lynchers and rioters, but never pursuing and shooting a mob that disperses on the reading of the riot act. Upon occasion, both police and militia may be forced to kill men who defy law and judicial procedure, if there is no way of getting them to court; but they do not set out to do this. Their type of force will remain so long as criminals exist. But a civilized community will permit no other type. Only uncivilized communities will much longer tolerate the international duelling called "war," which never aims to get a judicial decision and never provides for the equal weapons and "fair play" which is always demanded even in the duel between two individual combatants.

War is to be condemned primarily, not because it means death and destruction but because it never aims at justice and never achieves any measures of justice, except accidentally, incidentally and partially. Perhaps no fallacy is more widespread and dangerous than the idea that armies and navies are a "national police." True, they are occasionally called on for police functions, as when California and Jamaica earthquakes render assistance necessary. But food can be sent in vessels without ten inches of armor plate, and this occasional activity of war-vessels no more makes them a police force than the grocer's fighting of a forest fire at the demand of the fire-

warden makes him by profession a fireman. A genuine police aims always either at kindly, protective work, like catching runaways and hunting lost children, or at getting a criminal before a court of law. The police of one city never fight the police of another city. A navy is a tool of government which is created for the settlement of difficulties by force, by dint of strategy and explosives, irrespective of justice. A navy exists simply that it may fight another navy.

The abolitionists of war stand for justice as the paramount issue. It was with definite purpose that the scales of justice, and not the dove or olive branch, were placed upon the badges of the delegates at the great International Peace Congress in Boston and at the National Peace Congress in New York. The peace party makes no "mollycoddle" plea about hardship and pain; it has no craven fear of death. But it abhors, in this age of enlightenment, the beast's way of settling issues by tooth and claw and the devil's way of blowing up by treacherous mines the innocent victims of a government which votes to settle boundary-lines or questions of "honor" by explosives.

But to Captain Mahan this way is a valuable and revered method of settling "those momentous differences which cannot be settled by arbitration." He finds in arbitration no practicable solution for various new racial and economic problems that are looming up portentously. He is much concerned over questions involving the national conscience, and says: "There is an absolute indisposition, an instinctive revolt against signing away, beforehand, the national conscience by a promise that any other arbitrator than itself shall be accepted in questions of the future." Why, we ask, should there not be an instinctive revolt to the only alternative to this that Captain Mahan can suggest—namely, settlement of questions of conscience by explosives? Which is the more likely to settle any questions justly, the body of judges, fallible to be sure, like all other mortals,

but under oath and the eyes of the world carefully investigating evidence and rendering a verdict, or an admiral who knows nothing of the points at issue, but knows only where to send torpedo-boats to destroy the most life and property? Which settlement, be it absolutely just or not, leaves the least rancor—Bismarck's and Napoleon's method at Sedan, or the commission in London which settled the Alaska boundary? But Captain Mahan does not seem to concern himself about justice in these international affairs. He admits that war does not settle an ethical question. The impossibility of a nation's being an impartial judge in its own case does not appear to affect him when condemning arbitration of the more important international difficulties.

Captain Mahan's references to wars of religion in the past are irrelevant to the future. Such wars as may come will be for markets or territory or privilege. His assumption that questions of honor cannot be arbitrated is not held by the governments of Holland, Denmark, the five Central American states, Chili and Argentina which have all signed treaties to arbitrate every question—rational conduct which it is to be hoped Captain Mahan's own country may speedily emulate. Questions of "conscience" today belong chiefly to domestic politics, like slavery, suffrage, socialism, education and temperance. When the abuse of weaker peoples, like the Armenians, becomes a question of "conscience," a joint conference of Powers and the employment of organized ostracism can accomplish what no single nation can achieve by forcible aggression and dictatorship.

Three powerful adjuncts to arbitration as means of promoting a rational settlement of difficulties are completely ignored by Captain Mahan. One—a peace budget—has not yet been widely broached, but is big with promise for the future. It was one of the recommendations made by the Interparliamentary Union, composed of the statesmen of the

world, at their great meeting in London in the summer of 1906. Had one dollar been devoted to peace for every thousand in the annual war budget, it would have given us \$200,000 in 1906. This, put into the hands of a commission appointed by the President, would have enabled us to invite here fifty eminent Japanese and to have sent fifty of our distinguished citizens to Japan. It would have provided for an interchange of thought, receptions, lectures, innumerable courtesies, and have led to a vastly better understanding, besides providing for systematic, helpful work in the press and pulpit of the Pacific coast—worth easily the cost of a battleship in assuring hysterical citizens of safety. The enormous value of a common-sense *rapprochement* between England and France, the helpful interchange of visits and courtesies between English and German editors and merchants within the last two years, Secretary Root's friendly visit to South America and his kindly offices in helping towards peace between the states of Central America are but a slight beginning of the great systematic conciliation or work to be done in case of incipient friction, long before arbitration should be employed. This should play an enormous part in the future program of the American government, which makes such loud claims of its pacific purposes. This must be in addition to increased official and diplomatic measures, and largely be entrusted to tactful specialists and journalists. England's Chancellor of the Exchequer has at this very moment given the pledge of his government to the establishment of a peace budget, the value of which he warmly recognizes. It is probable that the price of one battleship, wisely expended in three or four leading nations, could do more for the peace of the world than all its combined navies. There are a score of rich American citizens who could individually accomplish a work of specific education in world organization which would alter the whole future history of the planet in

this regard, had they the foresight, shrewdness and good-will to do it.

A second measure of great promise, which increased organization renders possible, is the neutralization of weak and exposed regions, thus freeing them from danger of aggression, as the Philippines might be, with the consequent reduction of one-half our navy as soon as we grant them the independence which Secretary Taft has definitely promised. An immediate act by Congress making absolute and definite this pledge is the first step towards lowering the demand, now beginning, for sustaining two great navies—one in the Pacific and one in the Atlantic. No nation, of course, could refuse the request of our government to guarantee autonomy and neutrality to the archipelago when we withdraw. A refusal would be tantamount to advertising prospective aggression. The neutralization of Switzerland, Belgium, Honduras and Norway, and the self-renouncing agreement between England and the United States to have the three thousand miles of borderland between the United States and Canada unguarded are some of the notable beginnings in the use of a method which will play a gigantic part in the future in sidetracking jealousy and preventing friction. Who can question that when France, Great Britain, Germany and Russia "agree together to respect her autonomy and to act in concert in her support if she should be menaced by any Power," Norway is now free to spend her meager resources in building herself up, instead of guarding her frontier? The agreements, signed in April in Berlin and St. Petersburg by the Powers bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic, to respect each other's territoriality is a matter of great moment which has received amazingly little attention. What is to prevent every weak spot on the globe from becoming thus guarded as soon as the few influential minds of the world come to realize that there is a force stronger than armor plate—a force of which they are as oblivious to-day as,

a dozen years ago, they were oblivious of wireless telegraphy or the gyroscope?

Another force also is ignored by Captain Mahan; it is the force of non-intercourse. China, whom he speaks of as "at the mercy of the so-called Christian nations," was not only the inventor of gunpowder, but the employer of a force which, when adopted by the western world, may prove more efficacious than the explosive which the nations so readily accepted and employed. Even a few unorganized Chinese merchants, unsupported by their government, were able, in a nation without a navy, to bring to some measure of justice our great nation with a navy second only to England's, when their boycott of our goods, a few years ago, wrought havoc in the cotton trade. Their recent boycott of Japanese goods has quietly secured the desired concessions. What would not be the power of 400,000,000 organized Asiatics backed by their government if, twenty-five years from now, they should unite to refuse to deal with any nation that had wronged them and transfer their trade to a more friendly one? Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court well says that the Hague Court will never need an army or navy behind it to enforce its decisions. "If all the civilized nations would say," to a recalcitrant government, "'From this time forward, until you submit your dispute to arbitration, we will withdraw our diplomatic representatives, we will have no official communication with you, we will forbid our citizens having any business transactions with your citizens, we will forbid your citizens coming into our territory, we will make you a Robinson Crusoe on a desert island'—there is no nation, however mighty, that could endure such an isolation. The business interests of the nation would compel the government to recede from its position and no longer remain an outlaw on the face of the earth." The mere threat of non-intercourse with any nation by an organized world would be quite adequate. It would never need to be

carried into execution any more than our militia are ever called on to enforce decisions of our Supreme Court.

If even three friendly nations—the United States, Great Britain and France—should begin, and agree to continue to arbitrate every question with each other, as they have already done for ninety years, and the two others to declare non-intercourse with any nation that refused arbitration and went to war with any one of the three, such an agreement published to the world would secure absolute immunity from attack for all three, and would practically result in the rest of the world joining with them, thus furthering a world organization which alone can bring international peace. This beginning, of course, would involve definite arrangements to reimburse merchants, if an embargo ever became a fact, and it would include an invitation to every other nation to enter this league for promoting peace without armaments. Preparations for war in 1908 are about as costly as actual war in 1898, but preparations for international non-intercourse as a substitute would cost nothing but the cost of international lawyers' fees and the drawing up of treaties. Bombardments affect only coast towns, but a withdrawal of business would affect as well even the hamlets farthest inland where any one bought or sold. At the least cost, the most effectual compulsion towards peace is in the hands of the three Powers that are first willing to arbitrate everything with each other. Ultimately, even the threat of non-intercourse will be needless; but as the next step in providing a substitute for force that aims at bloodshed

it seems necessary to have this resource theoretically available, though in all probability it would never be used a single week.

The degree of national defense needed is merely a question of existing danger and bears no necessary relation to population, length of coast line, dignity or wealth. China has a population ten times as great as that of France, but does not therefore need ten times as great a navy. Since the Second Hague Conference the danger of bombardment of unfortified towns is ended, and therefore length of coast line is no measure of degree of danger. As one of our delegates to the Hague Conference has said: "If we want less danger we have but to tear down fortifications." A navy has no more to do with the dignity of a country than have fire-engines or life-saving stations. The degree of danger is largely a psychological question, requiring far more knowledge of human nature than of mechanics. The man whose thought has been for forty years focussed on the question of how to make and use the best instruments for killing enemies is the last man in the world to understand how to prevent making enemies. The health of the world depends not so much on bleeding and blisters and amputation as upon draining swamps and tearing down slums, upon sun and air, upon exercise and courage. The peace of the world depends not so much on steel destroyers as on the constructive, courageous statesmanship that forestalls enmity and turns it into bonded friendship.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE VOCATION BUREAU.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

Director of the Bureau.

PART II.

IN MANY cases the interests and ambitions of the applicant are important indications of adaptation, and the Counselor often makes them part of the foundation for his suggestions. In other cases the interests and ambitions of the applicant, or what he thinks his interests, and ambitions prove to be ill-founded, and are dissipated in the light of searching investigation and self-revelation. The following is a case in point.

A WOULD-BE DOCTOR.

A boy of 19, said he wanted to be a doctor. He was sickly looking, small, thin, hollow-cheeked, with listless eye and expressionless face. He did not smile once during the interview of more than an hour. He shook hands like a wet stick. His voice was husky and unpleasant, and his conversational power, aside from answering direct questions, seemed practically limited to "ss-uh," an aspirate "Yes, sir," consisting of a prolonged *s* followed by a non-vocal *uh*, made by suddenly dropping the lower jaw and exploding the breath without bringing the vocal cords into action. He used this aspirate yes sir constantly, to indicate assent or that he heard what the Counselor said. He had been through the grammar school and the evening high; was not good in any of his studies, nor especially interested in any. His memory was poor. He fell down on all the tests for mental power. He had read practically nothing outside of school except the newspapers. He had no resources and very few friends. He was not tidy in his appearance, nor in any way attractive. He knew nothing about a doctor's

life; not even that he might have to get up any time in the middle of the night, nor that he had to remember books full of symptoms and remedies.

The boy had no enthusiasms, interests or ambitions except the one consuming ambition to be something that people would respect, and he thought he could accomplish that purpose by becoming a physician more easily than in any other way.

When the study was complete and the young man's record was before him, the Counselor said:

"Now we must be very frank with each other. That is the only way such talks can be of any value. You want me to tell you the truth just as I see it, do n't you? That's why you came to me, is n't it—not for flattery, but for a frank talk to help you understand yourself and your possibilities?"

"Ss-uh."

"Do n't you think a doctor should be well and strong? Does n't he need vigorous health to stand the irregular hours, night calls, exposure to contagious diseases, etc.?"

"Ss-uh."

"And you are not strong."

"Ss-uh." (This was repeated after almost every sentence of the Counselor's remarks, but will be omitted here for the sake of condensation.)

"And you have n't the pleasant manners a doctor ought to have. You have not smiled nor shown any expressiveness in your face the whole time you have been answering my questions and telling me about your life and record. Your hand was moist and unpleasant when you shook hands. And you put your fingers in my hand without any pressure, or show of interest. I might as well have

shaken hands with a stick." (The Counselor's criticisms were very frank and forceful, but he smiled at the boy as he spoke, and his tones were quite gentle and sympathetic so that the young man was not offended or repelled, but seemed attracted and pleased, on the whole, by the frank and kindly interest of the Counselor in his welfare.)

"You might cultivate a cordial smile, a friendly handshake and winning manners, and you ought to develop good manners no matter what business you follow, but it will take much time and effort, for manners do not come natural to you."

"You should cultivate your voice and use smooth, clear tones with life in them. Your voice is listless, husky and unpleasant now."

"And read good, solid books, history, economics, government, etc., and talk about them. Develop your conversational power. At present you do not even seem able to say, 'Yes, sir,' distinctly."

"You want to win respect, to be something your fellow-men will admire, but it is not necessary to be a doctor in order to be respectable. Any man who lives a useful life, does his work well, takes care of his family, is a good citizen and lives a clean, true, kindly helpful life, will be respected and loved, whether he is a farmer, carpenter, lawyer, doctor, blacksmith, teamster, clerk or factory worker."

"People will respect a carpenter who knows his business and does his work well, a good deal more than they will a doctor who does n't know his business. It is a question of fitness, knowledge, skill and usefulness. A bad doctor is one of the least respectable of men. Think of the blunders he is likely to make, the people he is likely to kill or injure through wrong medicines or lack of skill in diagnosis or treatment."

The Counselor then painted two word pictures substantially as follows:

"Suppose two men are trying to build up a medical practice. One is tall, fine

looking, strong and healthy, with a winning smile, a cordial way of shaking hands, a pleasant voice and engaging manners. He is bright, cheery, wholesome. People like to have him visit them. His presence in the sick room is a tonic worth as much as the medicine he gives. He has a good education, has read a lot of good books. Keeps posted in the leading magazines and understands the public questions of the day, so he can talk to all sorts of people about the things that interest them. He has a good memory so he can carry in his mind the volumes of symptoms and medical data a doctor ought to know, and can tell a case of smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc., etc., without running back to his office to study the books. He has friends to help him get patients, and money enough to live in good style three or four years while he is building up a practice.

"The other man is small, thin, hollow-cheeked, sickly looking, with poor memory, little education, practically no reading, no resources, undeveloped manners, husky, unpleasant voice, no conversational ability—nothing to attract people or inspire their confidence, and with mental handicaps that would make it very difficult for him to master the profession. No memory to hold the bookfull of symptoms and remedies—the patient might die while he was going back to the office to study up what was the matter."

"Which of these two men would have the best chance of success?"

"The first one."

"And which most closely resembles your own case?"

"The second."

"Do you really think, then, that you would have a good chance to make a success of the medical profession?"

"I do n't know as I would. I never thought of it this way before. I just knew it was a good business, highly respected, and that's what I wanted."

"But there may be other highly respectable lines of work in which you

would not be at so great a disadvantage.

"Suppose a lot of races were to be run. In some of them you would have to run with a heavy iron ball tied round your leg, while others ran free. In other races you could run free as well as the rest of them and have something like a fair chance. Which sort of race would you enter?"

"I'd rather run free, of course."

"Well, your hands appear to be just as good as anybody's. You can exercise care and industry. You can remember a few things and can be successful if you do n't attempt too much. If you go out into some sort of work where you won't have to meet so many people as a doctor must, nor remember such a vast mass of facts—something where the memory and the personal element will not be such important factors, so that your handicap in those respects will not cripple you—you may run the race on fairly equal terms and have a good chance of success. Some mechanical or manufacturing industry, wholesale trade where you would handle stock, care of poultry, sheep, cows or other outdoor work, would offer you good opportunities and be better for your health than the comparatively sedentary and irregular life of a physician.

"I suggest that you visit stock and dairy farms, carpenter shops, shoe factories, wholesale stores, etc., see a good many industries in the lines I have spoken of, read about them, talk with the workmen and managers, try your hand if you can at various sorts of work, and make up your mind if there is not some business that will interest you and offer you a fairly equal opportunity free from the special handicaps you would have to overcome in professional life."

The Counselor also made specific suggestions about the cultivation of memory and manners, and a systematic course of reading and study to prepare for citizenship, and to develop economic power and social understanding and usefulness that would entitle the young man to the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

As the youth rose to go he wiped his hand so it would be dry as he shook hands with some warmth and thanked the Counselor for his suggestions, which he said he would try to follow. He smiled for the first time as he said this, and the Counselor, noting it, said:

"There! You can smile. You can light up your face if you choose. Now learn to do it often. Practice speaking before the glass till you get your face so it will move and not stay in one position all the evening like a plaster mask. And try to stop saying 'Ss-uh.' When you want to say 'Yes, sir,' say it distinctly in a clear, manly tone and not under your breath like a steam valve on an engine. A good many times when you say 'Ss-uh' it is n't necessary to say anything, and the rest of the time you should say 'Yes, sir,' or make some definite comment in a clear voice full of life and interest. Watch other people, and imitate those you admire, and avoid the things that repel or displease you in people you do not like."

"Ss-uh—yes, sir," said the boy with another faint smile, "I'll try." And he was gone.

He told another young man a few days later that the Professor said he would go through him with a lantern, and he has certainly done it, and he was glad of it, for he learned more about himself that evening than in all his life before, and though part of it was like taking medicine at the time, it was all right, and he knew it would help him a great deal.

A CARTOONIST IN THE BUD.

A working boy of 18, graduate of a Boston high school, said he wanted to be a cartoonist. He was strong, healthy, energetic and enthusiastic. He had a fine expressive face, clear, keen eye and pleasing manners. He stood the memory test excellently well, showed some imagination and inventiveness and a good deal of skill with his pencil. He had done some good reading on his own

account, solid books of history and science.

The Counselor saw no reason why he should not be aided and encouraged in the pursuit of his ambition to become a cartoonist. The suggestions of the Counselor, therefore, related chiefly to method.

SUGGESTIONS.

(1) Get large scrap-books or make them for yourself out of manila paper.

(2) Get your friends to give you copies of the *Review of Reviews* and other magazines and newspapers that publish the best cartoons. Cut them out. Classify them according to the principles involved, just as naturalists classify animals and plants. Paste them in your scrap-books, putting those of each class together. Mark each one with a word or phrase which will be to you the name of that cartoon. Make a list of these words and phrases that you can carry in your pocket.

Turn over the leaves of your scrap-book every day and two or three times a day if you can. Study the best cartoons carefully, and after each study shut your eyes or look at the ceiling and see if you can recall the picture. Sketch the cartoons from memory, taking one at a time, drawing it over and over again, comparing your sketch each time with the original and correcting your work until you can make a good sketch of each of the best cartoons from memory.

When you are in the cars or anywhere else with a few moments of leisure take out your list of words and phrases representing your cartoon specimens and try to flash before your mind rapidly the pictures corresponding to the words and phrases on your list.

In other words *master* your collection of good cartoons; put them in your brain and at your finger's ends. They constitute for you the a, b, c of your profession and you must make them a part of yourself, master them as thoroughly as you did the multiplication table when you studied arithmetic.

(3) Look at the head-lines of the leading papers every day, and every two or three days, or once a week, at least, select some subject that interests you strongly and try to represent your thought of it in cartoon form, using pictures of men and animals, etc., to express your meaning, as the cartoonists do.

If your thought does not readily flow into picture form turn the pages of your cartoon books, looking at each picture with the thought you wish to express clearly in your mind and see if you do not get a suggestion from some of the cartoons in your books.

Draw your cartoon and compare it with those in your books, especially those of the same class, principle or method or work. Then see if you can improve your drawing, and when you get it so that you are satisfied with it or believe it to be the best you can make it at that time, take it to some artist friend and get him to criticise it. Correct it in the light of his suggestions if you think they are well founded and then send it to some newspaper or magazine that prints cartoons and see if they will publish it. If not, send it to another, and another, keeping on until you get it published or are pretty sure you cannot place it.

Do this every week or as often as you conveniently can, and after a while with careful and persistent and well-directed effort you will be practically sure to succeed.

The Counselor will be glad to see your drawings from time to time and make such further suggestions as may seem best; and also to help you get acquainted with some artist competent to criticise your works.

(4) While you are studying and working on the direct lines of your intended vocation do not neglect the advantages to be secured by continued reading of the best books, especially those on history, economics and natural science, with Emerson's *Essays* and some good poetry. Such reading will not only help you to develop into a first-class man all round,

a good citizen and respected member of society—which is quite as important as being a good cartoonist—but it will also help you in your profession by filling your mind with vivid images of many kinds and giving you the power to appreciate the significance and relationships of public questions and current events. A man cannot be a first-class workman at any trade or profession unless he knows a good deal more than the special matters involved in his business. He must master the technique of his profession and must also know a good deal about the world in general and human nature in particular, in order that he may understand the relations between his special work and the varied interests of his fellow-men.

THE SECRET OF EFFECTIVE PREACHING.

Fine-looking, healthy young man of 20. Bright, expressive face, engaging smile, pleasant manners, natural, cordial and attractive. Well-shaped head. Memory rather poor. Language fair. Good habits. No specially weak points nor strong ones either, except his pleasing appearance and address. Moderate education, grammar school in West Indies, leaving at the age of 17. Went to business college in Bellevue, Ontario, six months. No reading to speak of. Worked on farm two months. Rest of time bookkeeping; receiving \$11 a week. No manual or business skill or experience, nor any decided mental aptitudes, but decided aversion to mechanical, agricultural or commercial lines. Had decided to go to college and prepare for Episcopal ministry. The college was determined upon, and the ultimate location—his former home in the West Indies.

Choice apparently fairly well in harmony with aptitudes, abilities, etc.

Suggestions, therefore, related to method.

1. Cultivate memory. Supplied analysis of method of developing and using memory, with explanations and illustrations. (See Exhibit A.)

2. Study lives and work of great ministers, like Phillips Brooks, Henry Ward Beecher and others, and try to discover the secrets of their success—the essential respects in which they differed from the ordinary humdrum clergyman.

3. High character, broad sympathy, helpfulness, genuine service, love of humanity, devotion to high ideals, characterize the true preacher.

4. Knowledge of human nature, history, government, economics, public questions, is even more essential than knowledge of theology.

5. Learn to preach not only on Biblical matter but on the problems that face men in daily life, and draw your illustrations of spiritual truth from concrete pictures of life. The sermons of the best and most effective preachers always deal with *life*; they apply the principles of Christianity to daily affairs of business, politics, society, home and individual life. No dry doctrinal sermons, but sermons brimful of light, sympathy, inspiration and intelligent helpfulness in relation to the things that fill up the lives of the people; the right and wrong of industry and civic life in city, state and nation as well as the ethics of the home and private conduct.

All these things were preëminently true of Beecher and Brooks and other eminent clergymen of the past. Henry Ward Beecher used to say, "Christianity is not a doctrine, but a life."

After listening to Phillips Brooks two or three times a week for six or eight months, I said to him, "Dr. Brooks, I've been trying to find out what it is that makes your sermons so attractive, and I've concluded that aside from your captivating earnestness and literary power, the charm lies in the fact that you always make your thought touch daily life. You illumine common every-day affairs with the light of Christian principle. You constantly apply ethical ideas and inspirations to life in all its phases, so that religion invades the week, stays with the people seven days instead of one, and goes with them into market, factory, street, court-

room and legislative hall—religion becomes a part of life instead of a thing more or less apart from life, a thing to put on once a week like your Sunday hat. That seems to me the secret—your sermons deal with concrete daily life from the religious standpoint."

"Well," said the great divine, "what is preaching for but that?"

It is clear, then, that a first-class minister must know a great deal, more than is taught in theological seminaries. He must be an all-round man.

His field is the ethical and religious interpretation of life and the world, and ministration to the sympathies, ideals and aspirations of his people.

To do his work properly, therefore, he must not only study ethics and religion, but must know life and the world, not only from books, but from personal contact and experience. Man, nature, industry, government, science, literature and art, all have a place in his equipment.

The world is hungry for high-type ministers; men of light and sympathy and power; men who know life as well as the history of the Church; men who can help the people solve the problems of daily life as well as preach a funeral sermon or recite the catechism in sonorous tones.

MINING ENGINEER OR TEACHER AND ACCOUNTANT.

Boy of 19, height, 5 feet, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; weight, 137; well built and handsome, winning smile and pleasant manners, well-shaped head, vigorous health. Has not lost 2 weeks in sickness in as many years.

Father a machinist. His father a tin-peddler. Mother's father—do n't know. Has uncles on mother's side; do n't know their occupation.

Education, grammar and one year high; 2 years Bryant and Stratton, book-keeping and shorthand. Began railroad engineering course International Correspondence School, but did not finish. All studies came easily; best records in mathematics, worst in spelling.

Reading, Cooper, Henty, Elliot, Scott. "Comedy of Errors," "Julius Caesar," etc. Not much reading in the last 3 years, so busy with work and study.

Experience: "Went to work at 14 in vacation time. Worked in shoe factory helping father, at \$10 a week. Father paid more than work was worth. Saved my money, bought my own bicycle, etc. In 1904 went to work steadily for the shoe company at \$10 a week. In August, 1904, went to Brazil and Buenos Ayres with father. Worked there nine months teaching natives how to operate shoe machines. Ten dollars and expenses. April, 1905, came back to Boston, went to Bryant & Stratton's, spending summer vacations in factory. In 1907 left school and went to work as bookkeeper and stenographer with a manufacturing firm at \$10 a week. November, 1907, employed by an auditor, Professor ———, of the Bryant & Stratton School, to go to New York to audit the books of the F. D. Co., \$15 a week and expenses. Afterward audited books of B. F. Co. of Boston for Professor ———, on the same terms. Like the work very much, best job I ever had. Do n't like the routine of steady book-keeping, but auditing a set of books is fine."

"Was your work satisfactory to Professor ———?"

"Yes, he was pleased with the work we did."

"What did he get from the company for the job?"

"He got \$700 from the New York company, and employed two of us boys to check up the books."

"What did it cost him for your pay and expenses?"

"We worked about four weeks and a half. Our pay came to about \$135 and expenses for both of us about \$75."

"How much time did the auditor, Professor ———, put in on the job?"

"About 10 days, I think."

"He got, then, something like \$500 for ten days' work and his responsibility; about \$50 a day, which is the sort of pay a

first-class auditor can make. If you persevere until you qualify yourself to take the contract instead of being employed as a helper, you can multiply the \$15 a week, you have been getting, by ten or twenty."

January, 1908, went to ——— Academy and started to prepare for the Tech. Left in one week, found they did not give the right course to fit a man for Tech. Then went to Chauncy Hall School to prepare to enter the Tech. in the mining engineering course. Doing stenographic work and teaching two evenings in the ——— School, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, correspondence and penmanship.

Likes teaching very much and is successful with the boys, and highly commended by the head of the school.

"How long would it take to perfect yourself to pass the state examination and become a certified accountant?"

"A year or so, perhaps, do not know exactly."

"How long would it take for you to go through the engineering course in the Institute of Technology?"

"Six years."

"What do you know about mining engineering? Have you ever visited a mine or been acquainted with a mining engineer?"

"No."

"It seems that you have two good ways of earning money, one is teaching commercial subjects and the other is bookkeeping and accounting. Why should you not aim to become a teacher in a business high school or college? And take jobs of auditing as your Professor ——— does now? Or you could soon become a certified public accountant and devote yourself entirely to that sort of work."

"You have two houses, one-half or three-quarters built; both in good locations. As a teacher of business subjects you could probably command in a few years from \$1,500 to \$3,000 a year, and there is a great demand for such teachers.

As a public accountant you might hope to grow to an income of anywhere from \$5,000 to \$15,000 a year. Now when a man has a house half-built in a good location, is it wise for him to abandon that, take a new site and begin to build all over again without some very good reason for leaving the first building? You are planning to leave your work which you know all about and thoroughly like; in which you have proved very efficient and satisfactory and which holds out a promise of excellent remuneration with a little persevering effort on your part. You are planning to leave all this to devote six years of study in preparation for a new line of work, about which you say you know practically nothing. Is it wise to spend all the time and money involved in this plan without first investigating the business of mining engineering sufficiently to be sure that you would like the work better than auditing or teaching, and so have a solid basis for deciding that you had better leave teaching or auditing for the life of an engineer? The question of ability does not rise in this case for you undoubtedly have the ability to fit yourself for an engineer if you conclude that that is the wise thing to do, but you have spent some of your best years in preparation for auditing and business teaching, and preparation and experience in these lines should not be abandoned without excellent reason. You are practically ready to put the roof on the house you have been building. Don't leave it to begin a new structure from the ground up unless you are sure that the new building will be enough better than the one you have now in process of construction to pay you for the sacrifice of time and effort that will be necessary to make the change."

SUGGESTIONS.

1. House half-built in a good location. Burden of proof is with the proposition to abandon the site, take up another location, dig a new cellar and begin to build all over again.

2. Long, steady pulls win results, not vacillation or flitting from one occupation to another without necessity or adequate reason.

3. Read Fowler's *Starting in Life*, or such parts of it as seem relevant to your problem.

4. Visit mines, factories, stores, farms, etc., and get an actual personal acquaintance with various kinds of industries. See the men at work, talk with them, try your hand at different sorts of work, and get as good an idea of the advantages and disadvantages of each of the main lines of industry which you might enter.

Do this with special care in the case of engineering industries, and get acquainted with some good mining, mechanical and electrical engineers, who will let you see the inside working of the profession, its drawbacks as well as its attractions.

Make a diagram presenting a comparative study somewhat as follows, and then come back for another talk:

DIAGRAM.	Certified Public Accountant.	Teacher in Business College or School of Commerce, with Auditing Contracts on the Side.	Mining Engineer.
How long will it take to complete your preparation?			
Cost of preparation.			
Opportunities and readiness with which you can get into the work.			
Pay, immediate, prospective.			
Conditions of work.			
Location.			
Kind of life.			
Human element.			
Healthfulness, etc.			
Other elements:			
Degree of independence.			
Social consideration.			
Satisfaction in the work.			
Its general nature and results, permanence, quality, importance.			

A MECHANICAL BENT APPARENT, BUT MORE STUDY AND EXPERIENCE NEEDED TO FORM BASIS FOR ANY RELIABLE CONCLUSION.

A six-footer, 19 years old, weight 159. Born at Wellesley Hills. Fine physique.

Health excellent. Lost no time by sickness last three years. Head large, splendidly shaped; 7 3-8 hat. Good looking, manners and voice "O. K." Memory good. Careful, intelligent, modest, no bad habits. Father a gardener; his father an engineer on a large estate in England. Very inventive and successful. Mother's father also an engineer.

Education, grammar school. Best studies drawing and history; high mark in drawing. Not good in mathematics.

Reading, inventions, mechanical news and ads. in current magazines. A few novels—*Crisis*, *That Lass o' Lowrie's*, etc.

Spare time spent generally in reading and lately 2 or 3 evenings a week in gymnasium.

In list of industries chiefly interested in "Skilled Mechanic," "Steam Railroad," "Inventor," "Architect."

At World's Fair would go first to Machinery Hall; chief interest would be there.

Experience. Worked some at gardening while at school. Left school at 16. Went to work as office boy \$2.50 a week. Stayed 3 years, ending as shipping clerk and buyer of office supplies, \$9 a week. Left to learn jewelry and engraving. Studied 7 weeks and found it would take 3 or 4 years, so went west and got work as chairman on an irrigation survey, \$30 a month and board. Winter came and work stopped. Last fall, 1907, went to Los Angeles, California. Had saved enough to pay fare and some over. No work in Los Angeles. Father sent money for tickets home.

Now working at bookkeeping in an insurance office, \$8 a week. Did not study bookkeeping, just picked it up.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Strong in drawing, loves machinery, reads about it, likes to see and handle it. Heredity points the same way. Ancestors, engineers on both sides, and one of them very inventive.

Mechanical mind and interest. Suggest skilled artisan, machinist or engineer.

in order to unite best ability and enthusiasm with daily work.

Read Fowler's *Starting in Life* and the books on our select list relating to Modern Mechanism and the History of Invention. Visit various mechanical industries, railroad, machine shops, electrical works, shoe factories, foundries, watch factories, engine works, etc. See the men at work. Talk with them. Try your hand at the work if you can. When you have gained a close acquaintance with some of the principal lines of mechanical work by observation, reading and experience, come back and we will go over the courses that are available in or near Boston for day or evening study and practice in preparation for the mechanical business that may then seem best for you.

While studying out your vocation read for citizenship and general culture, taking some of the books on the sheet of Civic Suggestions. It would be a good plan for you, perhaps, to begin with Fiske and Dole, following them with Forman, Bryce and Bridgman.

The more the young man studied himself and his vocational problem the clearer and stronger the tendency to mechanical industry became, and a few weeks after the interview he availed himself of an opportunity to work his way through the Automobile School of the Y. M. C. A., which gives a very thorough and practical course.

CASE INCIDENTS.

Incidental suggestions often occupy an important part in the consultation. For instance a boy who stammered two or three times during the interview, was sent to the Stammerer's Institute for the simple and effective treatment which is almost certain to cure him. A young man who seemed to be very bright and thoroughly competent, complained that he could not get on, could not secure advancement nor any satisfactory reason why he was not advanced. The Counselor called his attention to the fact that

his voice in conversation was lifeless and unpleasant—entirely below the standard he attained in other respects, and giving a decided impression, not only of lack of vigor and interest but of want of intelligence. The suggestion made the young man very thoughtful. Finally he said he had often noticed that people would talk with him a little while, then look at him in a curious way and pass on, leaving him sort of hanging in the air. His superintendent had frequently done the same thing. He had not thought about his voice, but these people might be impressed the same way the Counselor was. A few moments experimenting showed that if the voice was kept away from the lower notes, and a little vitality and variety put into it, the effect was pleasant and musical and indicative of energy and intelligence. The youth believed he had found the key to his trouble and reported some time later that the change in his ability to interest people and deal with them successfully was astonishing.

A young man of marked ability who was quite clearly in the right line but was with a house too small to admit of much advancement and did not know how to get into a larger field, was advised to join a club where he would come in touch with the best business men of the city and also to avail himself of the services of such agencies as the Employers and Employés Coöperative Agency, and Hapgoods, the Brain Brokers, of New York.

In another case the usual inquiries in regard to saving and spending money, brought out the fact that the boy wanted very much to get on in the world, but was discouraged about himself because he constantly let his money slip from him in dissipation. He was alone in the city and when evening came he was lonesome, and he would drift into the theater or some worse place nearly every night and his money would go. The Counselor suggested that he should join a boys' club, take up some evening studies that

would bring him every night to the Civic Service House, and make a daily report in writing to the Counselor or some one else he might select as a sort of trustee, showing just how much money he had spent in the last twenty-four hours and what he had spent it for. In a little while if he did this faithfully, new interests and better habits would be formed and he would become strong enough to live rightly without a guardian. He grasped eagerly at the chance of getting out of the mire, and put the method suggested in practice at once with excellent results.

A Scotch-American boy at the second interview seemed listless and inert. On inquiry it appeared that he was troubled with constipation and drugs did not seem to give him any permanent relief. The Counselor gave him a memorandum of some simple hygienic remedies through diet, exercise, kneading, bathing, etc., and two weeks later he came back as bright as a new dollar to say that one of the simplest of the methods suggested had fixed him all right. This may seem a little aside from the functions of a Vocation Bureau, but when it is considered that health is the foundation of industrial efficiency, that constipation with the auto-poisoning that may follow, is a serious handicap, and that very few doctors will apply the simple remedies which are really most effective and beneficial, it is clear that such suggestions are not out of order in the work of helping young men to achieve efficiency and success.

The discussion of special cases could be continued almost indefinitely, but enough has been said to give some notion of the work that is being done and its possibilities for the future. The Civic Suggestions, the library work with its analytic reading and research, and the tabulated courses of study often create an interest that brings the young man back to the Counselor again and again for brief reports or consultations.

The work is constantly growing in

extent and utility, but it must always be very inadequate as compared to the need until it becomes a public institution affiliated or incorporated with the public-school system. This we hope will ultimately come to pass as public education is extended and perfected and industrial training is developed.

Society is very short-sighted as yet in its attitude towards the development of its human resources. It trains its horses as a rule better than its men. It spends unlimited money to perfect the inanimate machinery of production, but pays very little attention to the business of perfecting the human machinery, though it is by far the most important factor in production.

Less than 1-16 of the children in the Boston primaries go through a high-school course. In Philadelphia less than 1-30 of the children go through the high school, and in Washington less than 1-13.

Here are the data for these three cities, obtained at the opening of this year. The high-school figures include the pupils in all the schools and courses of high-school grade, commercial and manual training, as well as academic:

PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

	Boston.	Philadel- phia.	Washing- ton.
First year primaries.	13,622	33,588	9,196
First year grammar.	10,007	19,386	5,601
Last year grammar.	4,869	5,710	3,136
Last year high schools.....	850	1,089	663

Nearly two-thirds of the children in Boston and Washington and five-sixths in Philadelphia drop out of school even before they finish the grammar grades. There are not seats enough in the grammar schools for much over one-third to one-fifth of the children, nor seats in the high schools for more than one-tenth to one-twentieth. Our cities evidently *do not expect or intend* to educate the bulk of the boys and girls beyond the primaries or lower grammar grades. The mass of children go to work to earn their living as soon as they are old enough to meet the law, and often before that.

Science declares that specialization in early years in place of all-round culture is disastrous both to the individual and to society. There is a clear relation between intelligence and variety of action and experience. A knowledge of each of the great classes of industry by practical contact is the right of every boy. This varied experience should be obtained under a thorough-going scientific plan of educational development and not by the wasteful and imperfect method of drifting from one employment to another in the effort to make a living, running an elevator in one place, marking tags in another, tending a rivet machine in another, etc., etc., spending years of time and energy in narrow specialization, and getting no adequate, comprehensive understanding of any business or industry.

The union of a broad general culture with an industrial education including a practical experience broad enough to form a true foundation for specialization in the proper field, possesses an economic and social value that can hardly be overestimated. Yet practically all our children are subjected to the evil of unbalanced specialization—specialization that is not founded on, nor accompanied by, the broad culture and experience that should form its basis and be continued as coördinate factors in a full development—specialization that is not only unbalanced and ill-founded but also in many cases inherently narrow, inefficient and hurtful in itself.

Most of the children who leave school early specialize on narrow industrial lines, and most of those who remain in school specialize on book learning. Book work should be balanced with industrial education; and working children should spend part time in culture classes and industrial science. Society should make it possible for every boy and girl to secure at least a high-school education and an industrial training at the same time. This can be done by the establishment of Public Half-Work High Schools, in which

boys and girls can *study half of each day*, and support themselves by *working the other half-day* for the public water works, lighting or transportation systems, street department or some other department of the public service, or for private employers.

A city or town can easily make arrangements with merchants, manufacturers and other private employers, whereby the high-school pupils may have the opportunity to work half-time in many lines of industry. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston is already carrying on this sort of arrangement with some of the leading merchants of the city, so that the girls in the Union's classes in salesmanship are able to support themselves and get most valuable practical training by working half-time in the stores. Enlightened employers are glad to make such arrangements, realizing the importance to themselves and to the whole community of such advanced industrial and culture training. Some of our agricultural colleges and state universities, especially in the West, afford opportunities for young men and women to earn their living while getting a college education. All that is necessary is to extend the methods and principles already in use to the public-school system as a whole, so that no boy or girl shall longer be debarred from the training of mind and hand, which is the *rightful heritage of every child* society allows to be born into this complex and difficult world.

Besides the extension of general education and the addition of vocational training, the *methods* of general culture should be materially modified if we are to give our boys and girls an adequate preparation for life and work instead of a preparation for passing an examination to get a degree. We should train for ability and character rather than for examinations. And the principal test should be the successful performance of things that have to be done in daily life rather than the answering of a series of questions about a book or a lecture

course. Systematic and scientific training of body and brain, of memory, reason, imagination, inventiveness, care, thoroughness, truth, promptitude, reliability, sympathy, kindliness, persistent industry, etc., etc., is what we need. Education for power; with actual performance, useful work, as the fundamental test. Power in any direction comes from *exercise* or activity in that direction together with sufficient development in other directions to give symmetry and balance to the whole. Even the power of sympathy and the sense of justice can be developed by daily exercise on the same principle that we develop the biceps or the bicycle muscles. Knowledge is excellent, but a man with *knowledge* only, without the power of original thought and the ability to put his ideas into effective execution is little better than a book—he contains a record of facts but cannot build or execute. He may not be even up to the book standard of life if he has not learned to *express* and *impart* his knowledge. That is why college graduates, even those who stood high in their classes, often fail to make good in business. They are good book-worms, sponges, absorbing machines, but they do not know how to do things and have no taste for doing things. They are really unfitted by their habits of passive absorption for the active life of the business world. We must train our students to full powers of action, not only in foot ball and other athletic sports, but in the various lines of useful work so far as possible according to their aptitudes as brought out by scientific tests and varied experience. And we must give our working boys the powers of thought and verbal expression that come with general culture. And we must do all this in the formative period before the progressive hardening of the system has taken the bloom from development and modifiability.

Youth is the period of plasticity and rapid development in which the foundations should be laid both for an all-round

culture and for special vocational power. The fluidity of youth is shown in the fact that practically 75 per cent. of the infant's body is water, while only 58.5 per cent. of the adult's body is liquid. Though some degree of plasticity may be retained to the end, the more fundamental characteristics of a man are generally fixed at 25 and the mental at 35 or 40. If you were molding a statue in plaster of Paris you would not think it wise to neglect the work or let it drag along half-done till the plastic mass had stiffened into rigidity. It is just as unwise to neglect the opportunities afforded by the plasticity of youth. A year of the period from 15 to 25 is worth more than 2 years after 35 for formative purposes and the development of power. Youth is the age of brain and heart. The body of an adult is three times as long, on the average as the infant's body, and the adult's arms are four times and his legs five times as long as the infant's, while his head is only twice the height of the infant's. The brain of the child is so large that it only increases in weight four times in the growth to maturity, while the heart increases 13 times and the body more than 20 times. The weight of the brain at birth is 12.29 per cent. of the total weight, while at 25 the weight of the brain is only 2.16 per cent. of the whole—nearly 6 times as much brain weight for the infant as for the adult in proportion to the total weight. As you leave your youth the rapidity of development diminishes as well as the proportion of brain and the plasticity or capacity for modification and acquirement of new abilities. The infant at birth is 5,000,000 times as large as the original germ cell. In the first year the growth is about 3 fold. Then the rate of development decreases till about the 11th year when a period of rapid growth begins, reaching its maximum speed as a rule somewhere between the 14th and the 19th year, and gradually tapering off to the milder movement of comparative maturity after 25.

In this plastic period of rapid growth, this age of brain and heart, society should guarantee to every child a thorough all-round development of body, mind and character, and a careful planning of and adequate preparation for some occupation, for which, in the light of scientific testing and experiment, the youth seems best adapted, or as well adapted as to any other calling which is reasonably available. If this vital period is allowed to pass without the broad development and special training that belong to it, no amount of education in after years can ever redeem the loss. Not till society wakes up to its responsibilities and its privileges in this relation

shall we be able to harvest more than a fraction of our human resources, or develop and utilize the genius and ability that are latent in each new generation. When that time does come, education will become the leading industry, and a vocation bureau in effect will be a part of the public-school system in every community—a bureau provided with every facility that science can devise for the testing of the senses and capacities, and the whole physical, intellectual and emotional make-up of the child, and with experts trained as carefully for the work as men are trained to-day for medicine or the law.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

A MAN AND A BOOK.

BY HELEN CAMPBELL.

THE SKY-SCRAPER, and in general the thing we call progress, has wiped out most of the landmarks dear to the generation that still clings to landmarks, and that knew good-fellowship on simpler lines than to-day tolerates. But there is yet here and there a survivor of those days, who in reminiscent moments tells the story summed up in "Pfaffs," the center for long for Bohemianism as journalists and literary New York interpreted the product imported from France and its expounders in Gautier, Murger and their followers.

"Pfaff's" was something more than mere importation. There one saw and heard not only the clink of unending schooners of beer and the clouds of smoke going up from pipe or cigar, but men who laid the foundations of New York literary life, and are to-day her priceless possession. No such meeting-ground and no such solid belief in the future of each and every haunter of the place now remains as promise or stimulus to even the humblest worker in such

field. Here one could see the veteran author or journalist, those still in their prime who had already attained firm place, and the aspirants who studied both with the certainty that their own conquest would be as sure, for all of them the common ambition to "use the words that walk up and down the hearts of men."

It is Philadelphia that to-day offers a successor to the vanished Pfaff's, though New York might deny it, and Philadelphia is principally unconscious of such fact, the throng found there for lunch and dinner, brought by the fame of certain unsurpassed dishes served by cooks who know every secret of Philadelphia cookery. It is the Market Restaurant at Nineteenth and Market streets, as undecorated, bare and blank an interior as any beer-cellar on the way to the ferry: a hollow square of counters, bordered by lines of stools, a series of huge blackboards on which the menu for the day is chalked, and an eager crowd waiting its turn. At the upper end of one side,

they often wait in vain, for here from day to day, stray artists, musicians, journalists and literary workers in general take their place if may be by the side of a man whose special beliefs they might assail, but whose simple sincerity and fearlessness, his power to command attention, his many-sided view of life, and encyclopedic knowledge of all phases of art and literature, have made him an unconscious authority and referee for all. One notes first the noble head, a mass of waving hair already silvering—the clear-cut aquiline features, the sensitive mouth not hidden by the short moustache, and blue eyes that soften or darken as talk goes on, but are searchers always, reading thought before it comes to spoken word, scorn in them for all shirking of issues, for all meanness—tenderness for all human pain, and a great faith for the future that men are to make noble if they will.

¶ This is Horace Traubel, chiefly unknown to the Philistine world till 1907 saw the first volume of *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, one of the most remarkable biographies America has ever produced, and recognized as such by English and foreign critics alike, a translation already desired in Germany. The second volume has lately appeared, of even more powerful interest than the first, and others are to follow. And because many are asking, "Who is this Horace Traubel, and why do n't we know more about him?" it is in order to answer the question fully as may be in the space at my command.

¶ "The rebellion of the boy is the salvation of the man." That is the beginning of the story for the father of Horace Traubel, a boy of the last generation, thinking his own thoughts in the narrow circle of an orthodox German-Jewish home, questioning at first silently, then openly, at last breaking all bonds and turning his back once for all on orthodoxy of any order either in religion, literature or art.

The dynamite bomb which in its

explosion projected the rebel toward that America for which he had longed was the Talmud, its rigid and minute ordering of every detail of life more and more deeply loathed, till the day came when he spoke his full mind.

"Hate the Talmud? Call it a fool book of antiquated fossil restrictions on life and thought? A curse on the blasphemer who scorns the faith of his fathers!" the Rabbi roared, and at this point it was that the detested volume flew from the lad's hands into the fire, and the father aghast at the sacrilege looked his last on the vanishing renegade.

America had long appeared to the boy the only point in the known world which rejected canons old or new and thought for itself, and to America he shortly made his way, landing, like Franklin, at Philadelphia, and like him wandering through the streets for a time, till a "job" showed itself, developing later into his life-long business as printer, engraver and lithographer, to which was added occasional portrait painting of no mean quality.

This was Maurice Henry Traubel, later to become father of another rebel, his equipment for the new conditions, a passionate love of justice which went with him through life, never lessening and shaping every dealing with man, woman and child. There was other equipment—trained faculty which made him a natural student in all directions, an omnivorous reader, a lover of deep philosophy, a scientific student, an art critic of the keenest perception, and a musician of high order, the leader of the Philadelphia Mænnerchor, and later that of Camden where the family home came to be.

On the mother's side was as clearly defined an inheritance. Though born in Philadelphia her family name, Van Gründen, evidences the Dutch descent which gave to her the high courage, the loving soul and gentleness best made known to us in Motley's splendid summary of Dutch characteristics. Each

strain of blood added its quota to the make-up, this union of the races transmitting, as in Whitman's case, "an exquisite sensibility to impressions, and a far-off clear-sightedness, which are often natural gifts, to the children of such marriages."

Into such a home, never knowing riches yet filled always with increasing store of books; fine pictures and prints on the walls and noble music the key-note and undertone of the whole there came December 19, 1858, the child, Horace Logo Traubel, the fifth one of seven brothers and sisters, demonstrating presently his right to handle life as it seemed good to him, yet with full submission to the law of the house—equal justice for all.

"No mine or thine in this house!" the father shouted to the group of boys wrangling as to which should first read a desired book. "From oldest to youngest, each in his turn; that is the way," and this was the family law from grandmother to the latest baby, the mother one with the father in all theories and practices, the tie between them through all their married life, one of singular strength and tenderness.

As to the boy's education, at twelve he had finished the course laid out in the public schools of Camden, the real education, however, in the home itself in which artists, musicians, thinkers and workers of all orders came and went, each the expounder of some live question, social, political, ethical, musical, artistic, pausing often as the father's beautiful baritone voice rolled out some apposite quotation from the poets of his own country, Goethe, Schiller or Lessing.

Religious liberty naturally as might be expected came first in the education of the children. Several of them went from time to time to a Baptist Sunday-school, and discussed gravely the views brought home from it, and later, when the older ones seceded, and flouted the younger sister because she remained faithful, the father said decisively, "Let her alone, children. She must work

things out for herself. That is the only way for any of us. We must have freedom." It was to this end that through all their lives neither father nor mother connected themselves with any religious movement, historic or revolutionary, choosing the term Freethinkers as the most comprehensive statement of their attitude, and training their children to give it its noblest significance.

From the hour the boy could read at all he had been a devourer of every order of book, and before he was out of his teens they numbered thousands, critical journals and reviews included, and a set of scrap-books now invaluable is still preserved, holding the best work of critics like George Ripley and the higher school of American journalists and men of letters. Life from earliest childhood up was a serious business, and the boy played far less than the man has learned to do. An older sister's memory of him is as "a beautiful, rather over-sensitive child, his great blue eyes always seeming to be looking a little in advance of the rest of us," and the man's eyes have never lost the fashion of their childhood.

Somewhere in this earlier period the boy Horace remembers walking to the ferry holding Walt Whitman's hand, his small legs keeping such pace as they could with the giant's at his side, a familiar friend, for the poet came and went freely in the house during the frequent visits to Camden while his mother was still living there, and shared in the unceasing talk and discussion which marked the family life. It is this walk, however, that stands out as the first conscious sense of intimate relationship, though years passed before Camden became actually the home of Whitman. Later on both sought to determine actual dates, but never could, and as the younger man questioned one day, "Just how do you suppose it came about—this relation of ours?" Walt, after a pause, said quietly, "It did n't come about, Horace. I think it always was."

Long before this the same order of training that made Whitman an admirable printer, and judge of all that constitutes the best work in all phases of that trade, had become the boy's also, from twelve to sixteen in a printing office, all this preceded while he was still in school by having an evening newspaper route. At this time the father had a stationery store in Camden and the son helped take care of this, sharing later in lithographic work, the father and an elder brother working together in the art-room of the Wells and Hope Company in Philadelphia. For a time the father greatly desired to see this son a portrait painter, and the boy, who had shown some talent, copied pictures and drew from casts and from life, but never with the power demanded by the critical eye of the philosophic parent, to whom it soon became clear that this nature must work out in its own lines unshaped by any direction save that of life itself.

Bookkeeping and its inflexible routine followed, with a period of acting as paymaster in a factory, and later on twelve years in a bank, but in each and all of these occupations every chink of spare time for personal life still given to reading, the scrap-books of most catholic contents still accumulating, the father's tastes and studies repeating themselves in the son.

"Profoundly serious. Looking at life with curiously deep observant eyes," insists one who knew his early manhood best, but the older friends at times look a little incredulous.

"Traubel serious?" said one of the intimates to a questioner. "Why, yes, on one side, certainly—that of his beliefs. No going back on them, but he is about the best comrade, the best exponent of an all-round good fellow, I've ever come across; off on a long tramp, for instance, where he out-tramps us all, strong as an ox and never tired," and the man himself admits, "Why, yes, since I've learned to play a little I dare say I am rather more of a good fellow. It took a good

while, though, to find out that I had any right to play."

"How was he when you first began to know him?" one questioned the charming young wife whom he married in 1891 and whose name stands as associate editor of *The Conservator*.

"Horace? Oh, he was as excessively correct in dress as he is lawless now—a long-tailed Prince Albert as the time demanded, Derby hat and all the rest, saying straight out anything and everything he thought with no regard for mere feelings and thinking he owed it to truth to do this. But they all loved him. He has always been loved."

A short period of mourning that he had not had a formal college training had preceded this marriage, and he records at one point in the second volume of *With Whitman in Camden*, Whitman's summary of the advantages of precisely such a training as his to-be biographer received:

"I said to Whitman, 'I used to regret that I missed going to college.' 'You regret it no longer?' 'I see now that I was in luck.' 'Good for you. You were in luck. You made a providential escape. For a fellow with your rebel independence, with your ability to take care of yourself, with your almost nasty resolution to go your own road, a college is not necessary—would, in fact, be a monster mountain of obstruction. As between a university course anyhow, and a struggle of the right sort in the quick of every-day life, the life course would beat the university course every time.'"

"So you were four years in a printing office?" he said, questioning, at another time. "Good! Good! That's better than so many years at the university. There is an indispensable something gathered from such an experience: it lasts out life. After all, the best things escape; skip the universities."

"Skipping the universities," never hampered or hindered expression, and first in general work, reviewing, etc., and then special editorials for the *Boston Common-*

wealth, a weekly, which Mr. Charles Slack desired to make a daily and made a formal offer to the young writer to take a permanent position as its literary editor with residence there. This at first had seemed the open door to a future that best suited his desires. Then some subtle instinct made him hesitate and at last decline, and this with no regrets. Any other decision would have lost to the world the most vital piece of biography in modern times, for shortly after, Traubel formed the habit of writing out full report of the evening's talk with Whitman, his extraordinary memory, admitting of a record as faithful as a stenographic report: an American Boswell but with eyes that searched the deepest soul of the man he loved, a feat far beyond any power of the smaller soul that chronicled Johnson.

From the beginning Whitman was reader and critic of the younger man's work, and said to him one evening:

"I am watching your pieces as they appear in the papers and magazines, reading them all: you are on the right tack—you will get somewhere. I do n't seem to have any advice to give you except, perhaps, this: Be natural, be natural, be natural. Be a damned fool, be wise if you must (ca n't help it), be anything only be natural. Almost any writer who is willing to be himself will amount to something—because we all amount to something, to about the same thing at the roots. The trouble mostly is that writers become writers and cease to be men; writers reflect writers, writers again reflect writers, until the man is worn thin, worn through. You seem to want to be honest with yourself. I'm sure I could n't think of a better thing for any one."

It was soon evident to Whitman that in this worshiping yet clear-headed, clear-judging young fellow most of whose evenings and Sundays were for many years given to the invalid's service, he had a coming biographer. The blood-poisoning contracted during the poet's strenu-

ous years of hospital service in handling a specially bad case of gangrene, had brought on the semi-paralytic condition with other equally serious complications, and the free offering of the life and ungrudging services of the younger man, a creature of absolute health, a day's sickness even now unknown, and a superb vitality that seems to emanate from him, was Whitman's greatest gift and solace in the long years of suffering and slow decline. The heavy eyes lighted at his appearance even if no spoken word accented the relief which had voice one evening in the words: "The instant you came into the room and hung your hat on the bed-post I felt better. How do you account for that, Horace?"

It was at almost the beginning of this period that he said on the night of October 29, 1888:

"You will be speaking of me many a time after I am dead; do not be afraid to tell the truth, any sort of truth, good or bad, for or against, only be afraid not to tell the truth," and the reply came, "I promise not to send you down in history wearing another man's clothes." He nodded and said fervently, "That's all I could ask, Horace."

The extraordinarily vital quality of the two volumes now before the public evidences how faithfully the promise has been kept. Whitman's deep dislike to even ordinary questioning was often in the way, the utmost tact required not to show any undue eagerness, and Whitman well aware of this commented on it one evening:

"Horace, you are the only person in the world whose questions I tolerate. Questions are my *bête noir*; even you at times, damn you, try me, but I answer your questions because you seem to me to have a superior right to ask them, if any one has, which may be doubted. Cross-examinations are not in the terms of our contract, but you do certainly sometimes put me through the fire in great shape." He laughed. "Now, Horace, you see how much I love you. You

have extorted my last secret. You have made me tell you why you are an exceptional person; you have forced from me an avowal of affection." Later he added, "Horace, how happens it you fell to my lot—you being just what you are—now in my need? Who can tell? There certainly was a divinity that shaped this end."

The necessity in his own mind for as absolute truth as words could carry was always with him. "It won't be long, and I will be dead and gone; then they will hale you into court—put you in the witness-box—ply you with questions—try to mix you up with questions; this Walt Whitman—this scamp poet—this arch-pretender—What did you make him out to be? And you will have to answer—and be sure you answer honest, so help you God!"

It is clear there were plenty of difficulties in the way, but it was as Whitman had himself said to a sister of the chronicler: "Agnes, Horace has wonderful intuition; he divines me, perceives me, almost before I divine, perceive myself."

Fullest perception and understanding were there, but there was method also recorded in the first volume:

"My method all along has been not to trespass and not to ply him too closely with questions necessary or unnecessary. When a lull occurs I sometimes get him going again by making a remark that is not a question. Other times we sit together for long periods of silence, neither saying anything. One evening during which we had not done much more than sit together, he on his chair and I on his bed, he said, 'We have had a beautiful talk—a beautiful talk.' I called it a Quaker talk. He smiled quietly. 'That will describe it. But, oh, how precious!' At another time as we parted for the night he said, as he took my hand and pressed it fervently, 'I am in luck. Are you? I guess God just sent us for each other.' Another good night had the words, 'We are growing nearer together. That's all there is in life for

people—just to grow near together."

Later on, as helplessness increased, a tacit agreement made Traubel his partner and helper with the books which were to appear in special editions. "I feel somehow as if you had consecrated yourself to me, Horace," he said at this time, and the thought remained with him.

"Horace, I do believe you're the only one of the fellows—of all, of all—who is willing to let me do as I please." "That's not because I always agree with you," was the reply. He laughed and replied, "I know, I know, but you never interfere, you never push in, you never take me by the neck and shake the life out of me for disagreeing with you about the use of commas, or the sizes of margins, or the colors of muslins on the backs of books."

Steady helper at every turn for all this later work, Whitman's gratitude finds expression over and over. "How can I pay my debt to you?" he asked often, and as if seeking some method, and the quiet helper, simply asked in return, "How can I pay my debt to you?" and records at this point, "He took my hand, pressed it, then said, 'How can we?' I finally suggested, 'Let's pair off, and say no more about it on either side.' He nodded a smiling assent. 'You have a way sometimes of settling my difficulties for me. Yes. Let's pair off. It's easy for love to pair off,' he said. He added, 'It's easy for love to do miracles.'"

It was but a little later, that he wrote in a special edition of the *Leaves of Grass*,
"TO HORACE TRAUBEL FROM HIS FRIEND
THE AUTHOR.

"It is now for fifteen years we have been acquainted, and the last year cements us together by services and faithfulness on your part toward me, in bringing out my books and in personal kindness to me in my obstinate sickness, imprisonment and disablement. Take this book, dear Horace, a special memento of these days in the future, and prayer for you from me.

"Camden, February 10th, 1889."

Nothing here of the passive acceptance of all benefits, here and there held to be the poet's habitual attitude. On the contrary, hardly a day passed without some positive recognition not always in words but in a sudden lighting of the eyes, a pressure of the hand or a smile and a nod of pleasure. But the wise young helper knew well that in this unconstrained daily intercourse, he was the gainer hour by hour, though for long it had not occurred to him that the daily record of talk meant more than his own happiness in giving fixed form to the fleeting word. The astonishing mass of material accumulated in this way, forms but one phase of always increasing activities, all of them making for the liberalizing of thought in the city where his work goes on. Founder and one of the officers of the Contemporary Club, and also one of the founders of the Ethical Society he presently became editor of the unique monthly, *The Conservator*, the greater part of the contents his own contribution. His method with words is often criticized, for many who know only the name insist that a man of education and cultivation would choose smoother flow for his periods. But if the abrupt forms sometimes disconcert the reader, the thought carries him on, and soon he is ready to admit that American journalism or even the prominent magazine and review can but seldom compare with it in actual living quality, in power and rugged individuality. His *Chants Communal*, now in German and to be translated into Dutch, is far less known here than abroad, and this is true also of his poems, all holding the same deep quality. It throbs with passionate appeal for the downtrodden of all the earth, the problem of many an age, Capital and Labor, having a handling in which Marx himself would delight. Tenderness, gentleness, deep, wise understanding are all in it, yet no less an indignation so intense and burning that it might well scorch the page that holds it. To thousands he has become not merely torch-bearer but the torch itself, throwing its light into

shadowy places, certain that dawn has already come and that the world is on its way to a life that will hold Love the ruler and Justice the law.

Chants Communal appeared in Munich in 1907 translated by Otto Lessing, a well-known author and essayist, at one time in this country as college professor, and he writes in a letter, announcing the free sale of the book:

"Whatever you write makes my heart beat and makes me wish to have my Germans know you. Your magnetism, your manly faith, your sincerity, would do so much good here, where even the Socialists are so far from that love your *Chants* call for."

This is the impression produced by one phase of his work, but as book reviewer there is an equally distinct personality in all he does. In those years of constant discussion with Whitman, on men, measures, literature and everything else under the heavens, he came to an unerring judgment of quality, and abides there, adding keen analysis and sympathy as keen, the soul of the book made clear, his business to do the utmost justice to both book and reader. Always he is more interested in causes than in reputations—in talking about the truth than in shining as an artist, preferring to let the artist go any time in favor of the man, a fact of which he himself says it may have delayed but certainly has fortified his literary development.

The Conservator in its present form was started in 1890, but was the natural outgrowth of a monthly sent out for nine previous years as the organ not only of the Ethical Society, but of all liberal movements in Philadelphia. As Whitman's partner and now one of his literary executors he had a large share in the editing of the volume, *In Re Walt Whitman*, a quarto including the essays and addresses made at the burial of the poet, and there are other smaller pieces of work to testify to his industry, an industry so untiring that he is a problem to the ordinary worker.

Those who know his life, his overflowing vitality, his boundless energy and activity, find that his day's work nearly doubles the usual time, since he sleeps never more than six, usually but four or five hours, the power of "self-recuperation" as Professor James has called it, absolutely his own. People come and go in the old rooms on Walnut street, where most of his work is done, and where he is compositor, proof-reader and editor in one, a ready ear for even an unwelcome visitor with no definite message, his own marvelous cheer and strength, shared by all who call upon it. A good deal of music, a play now and then, for actors love him and get from him many a hint for their own work—a ball game on Saturday afternoon so long as the ball season lasts, and always the life of the streets, the human faces, the sense of comradeship with all life that Whitman knew to the core, and that this successor of his by divine right will know to the end.

What is the motive power in this life, careless, it seems, of recognition, going its way unperturbed, jesting at difficulties, and rendering unceasing services to all who need? In part, this is temperamental, a natural endowment, but there is a deeper reason and in it is also one secret of the intense sympathy, the kinship between himself and Whitman. A generation ago the experience might come under the head of "mere mysticism, mostly delusion." But those who have watched the broadening outlook in all psychological study, and who are familiar especially with the work of our leading psychologist, Professor William James, of Harvard, will recall his summary of *Cosmic Consciousness* as defined and illustrated in a unique volume by the late Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, long a special authority in these directions, and quoted from freely in James' remarkable series of lectures given in 1906 at Edinburgh, known as the Gifford Lectures, and now in book form under

the title, *Varieties in Religious Experience*.

Some fifty illustrative cases are given in the second part of Dr. Bucke's remarkable book; Whitman's in full, and that of Horace Traubel following later on. In Whitman's case all future thought and expression were saturated with the faith born in him, but illumined and strengthened by this experience, its sum in the lines in *Leaves of Grass*:

"Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace
and joy and knowledge that pass all the art and
argument of the earth,
And I know that the hand of God is the elder hand
of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the eldest
brother of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers,
... and the women my sisters and lovers,
And that a kelson of creation is love."

In the same fashion and with much the same results the younger man came into the same possession, his own words, as written to Dr. Bucke, best giving the heart of the experience.

"That overwhelming night (May, 1889), as I leaned over the railing of the ferry-boat, lost this world for another, and in the anguish and joy of a few minutes saw things heretofore withheld from me revealed. Those who have had such an encounter will understand what this means; others will not, or will, perhaps, only realize it by intimation. I could not separate the physical and spiritual of that moment. My physical body went through the experience of a disappearance in spiritual light. All severe lines in the front of phenomena relaxed. I was one with God, Love, the Universe, arrived at last face to face with myself. I was sensible of peculiar moral and mental disturbances and readjustments. There was an immediateness to it all—an indissoluble unity of the several energies of my being in one force. I was no more boating it on a river than winging it in space or taking star leaps, a traveler from one to another on the peopled orbs. While I stood there the boat had got into the slip and was almost ready to go out

again. A deck-hand who knew me came up and tapped me on the shoulder. . . . 'Do n't you intend going off the boat?' he asked. And he added when I faced him and said, 'Yes': 'You look wonderfully well and happy to-night, Mr. Traubel.' I did not see Walt till the next day, evening. In the meantime I had lived through twenty-four hours of ecstasy mixed with some doubt as to whether I had not a crack in my skull and gone mad rather than have fallen under some light and made a discovery. But the first words Walt addressed to me when I sallied into his room were reassuring: 'Horace, you have the look of great happiness on your face to-night. Have you had a run of good luck?' I sat down and tried in a few words to indicate that I had had a run of good luck, though not perhaps the good luck he had in mind for me at the moment. He did not seem at all surprised at what I told him, merely remarking as he put his hand on my shoulder and looked into my eyes: 'I knew it would come to you.' I suggested, 'I have been wondering all day if I am not crazy.' He laughed gravely. 'No, sane. Now at last you are sane.' . . . If you take my verse, *Illumination*, and try to get it statistically languaged, you will find that I have expressed a series of profound significance to all who have been similarly blessed. I find that my members are no more at war with each other. When I was a youngster I read

my way vigorously and sympathetically back especially into Oriental literature of the religious class—blazed a path for the spirit. After 1889 (a hiatus in such reading having intervened) I found myself driven into that old world again to review my original impressions. The new light had made my voyage easier and more richly endowed its fruits. Once I felt that religions were all of them religions of despair: now I saw that no religion despairs—that all religion before it becomes and as soon as it ceases to be an affair of intuitions, resolves itself essentially into light and immortality."

This is part of the record, and a poem written later holds, like Whitman's already quoted, the same white flame of conviction, and ecstasy:

"God! I am circled—I am drunk with the influx of life—
Wheeled in your orbit—given the word I would speak yet must withhold,
Leaving you, O my brother, each one to say it for yourself.

"Brothers, worlds I greet you!
The wheel turns, the boundless prospect opens:
All, all complicate—the light bearing limitlessly the burdens of all.
Do you think that you are missed—that the large heart beats not for you?
That somewhere on the road you must faint and die?
Strength will be given for all your need,
And the weakest, when the night comes which is the day,
Will greet the King, a giant in stature and grace."

HELEN CAMPBELL.

New York City.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH.

BY ELMER GREY.

THE RAPID growth of Christian Science during the last few years and the chance of its equally rapid growth in the future, make the question of the character of its church edifices one that should attract all lovers of good

architecture whether they are interested in Christian Science or not. Any one who has been observant must realize that the architectural aspect of our cities is being continually influenced by the rapid multiplication of the churches of

this denomination. Many of these structures are very commendable in design, a few are unusually fine examples of church architecture, while it should be admitted that many might have been better. A truism is, that the healthful progress of any art is furthered by intelligent criticism, by discussion between those who have acquired a more or less reliable judgment in such matters. Though tastes will differ even among critics, without the standard which the consensus of their intelligent critical opinions create, there would be no stable basis upon which to appraise the values of art.

Christian Scientists are slow to criticise, and architectural discussion does not enter into the text of their religious periodicals. Very little on the subject of their architecture has so far appeared in print. This article will attempt to discuss some points which heretofore seem either to have been misstated or not covered.

In order properly to consider the style in which these edifices should be built, it should first be borne in thought that Christian Science is, or at least claims to be the type of Christianity taught by Jesus. Ever since the formation of the first Christian Church there have been religions making a similar claim and it is no part of the present purpose to decide whether they were or were not what they claimed to be, or whether Christian Science is such. The pertinent fact here is that the latter faith does not pretend to be anything better than the religion of Jesus and that every Christian religion has also at least striven to be the same thing.

In the year 1 A. D. most of the world was pagan in its belief, and this belief found its most conspicuous architectural expression in the temples of ancient Greece. Jesus' followers first worshipped in cellars, in attics, in any places where they could safely congregate; but finally they became strong enough to erect houses of worship of their own, the first Christian church edifices. These early

Christian churches followed the Roman basilicas in form and these basilicas were not churches but halls of justice. This borrowed form for a church had, in the course of centuries of development, several noteworthy culminations in style, which distinctly showed that its buildings were to be used as churches and not as law courts. One of these styles was the Renaissance, a revival of old Roman and Greek architecture which reached its highest perfection in such churches as St. Peter's in Rome, or Santa Maria della Salute in Venice. Another was the Romanesque, which is distinguishable by its liberal use of the round arch and the vault. Later on the Romanesque merged into the Gothic. The Gothic, almost losing sight of the motifs of Greek or pagan architecture, developed the arch and the vault to a high state of perfection, and reached its culminating glory in the cathedrals of France and England.

Nothing that has been done in church architecture since has equaled some of these original Renaissance, Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and churches in point of beauty. They may well be taken as models, therefore, so far as their style is concerned, in designing Christian churches of to-day. This is not, however, what has always been done with Christian Science churches. Many of them have attempted the Greek idea in their designs, various reasons being given for it. An objection commonly raised to the Gothic style is that it stands for the form and ceremony of the Orthodox church. It is contended that Christian Science is a considerable remove from Orthodox thought, and that this difference should show in the style of its church edifices. But the Renaissance stands for orthodox thought as truly as does the Gothic, as witness St. Peter's in Rome and numberless other Renaissance churches that have been built and are used to-day by one or another of the orthodox church forms. It is also said that the idealism of Socrates, preached



CHURCH OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE SOCIETY, MILWAUKEE. ELMER GREY, ARCHITECT.

in pagan temple days, was nearer to the Christian idealism of Christian Science than is much of the later religion calling itself Christian, and that for this reason the Greek temples might appropriately be used as motifs for Christian Science architecture. But Greek historians tell us that the rank and file of the ancient Greeks were not at all the kind of people who were likely to have been followers of Socrates. They worshiped the gods and the oracles and participated in obscene rites. It is a question whether Socrates ever used the Greek temples for the purpose of promulgating his philosophy. And even if he did, even if we assume that the Greek temples stand for the thought of a few exceptional Greeks, a return from orthodox Christian thought to theirs would as a recent writer in the *Christian Science Journal* (May, 1908, p. 75) made clear, be no advance.

Notwithstanding this fact at least one article has appeared stating that the Greek type of edifice is symbolical of Christian Science. We are glad to be able to give the opinion of a prominent Christian Scientist that there is absolutely no authority for such statement. He writes: "Mrs. Eddy has not, to my knowledge, even suggested that such a type be considered Christian Science architecture. The original Mother Church, built in 1894, upon Mrs. Eddy's suggestion and upon which she devoted much time and energy is Romanesque. The church in Concord, her gift, erected in her home city, dedicated in 1904, is a Gothic edifice. The immense new edifice of the Mother Church, dedicated in June, 1906, is of Italian Renaissance. These three buildings, one her gift and the other two suggested by her, seem to show that she has preferred the type of building which, when seen at such a



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA. HIBBARD & GILL, ARCHITECTS.

distance that no inscription or title can be observed upon its face, is known immediately as a church edifice.

"Arguing the question from the point of the reflection of religion upon architecture it can truly be said that the Greek style of architecture is no more the interpretation of Christian Science into architecture than is the New England meeting-house. If the Greek type for Christian churches had not appeared in this country or in Europe, and Christian Scientists were the first to erect such edifices then there might be some excuse for stating that they feel it to be typical of their religious belief. But scattered over this country and over Europe are hundreds of churches of other denominations built after the Greek style.

One writer has objected to the Gothic style because of its "symbolism." But all forms of art are symbolic, anything that expresses thought: language, music, all styles of architecture. The Bible is full of it, the Book of Revelations is almost entirely made up of it. It is not a question of symbolism, but of the kind of thought expressed by it. The Gothic, for centuries stood for the only form of Christianity then existing. True, it was not Christian Science; but much of it was sincere reaching out for the Christ

truth, earnest clinging to all of that truth then discerned; and were it not for those earnest efforts toward perpetuating Christianity, Christian Science might not be known to-day. Symbolism has been used by Christian Scientists in places, and with a freedom which should go far toward warranting its further use. In the original Mother Church the "Director's Rose Window" is almost entirely symbolic. In Mrs. Eddy's room is another window of that nature. "Instead of symbolism declining with the growth of Christian Science," writes one Christian Scientist, "I feel that

the case will be exactly the reverse; that there will be other symbols added to those that have accumulated during the last nineteen hundred years, for Christian Science will find new expressions and will take from those of the past the ones which appeal to it as higher types by their suggestiveness of spirituality."

The whole subject of style for Christian Science churches rests upon the question of how much Christian Science is allied to other Christian denominations. On this point Mrs. Eddy has said: "As the ages advance in spirituality Christian Science will be seen to depart from the trend of other Christian denominations in no wise except by increase of spirituality." (Miscellaneous Writings, p. 21.) Since Christian Scientists will be the last to question this statement, does it not seem that their edifices should follow the styles of other Christian churches? More than that, should they not, if possible, be an improvement upon, a perfection, of the beauty of those styles? Surely they should show that Christian Scientists as a class sympathize with the Christian history of the past, should impress outsiders as being the buildings of a great and permanent Christian church organization rather than those of a society having limited sympathies

and hence limited capacities for good. Unless they do plainly tell this it should be easy to see how even the religion they represent might often be misjudged in consequence.

The Grecian style would be more acceptable with many for the purpose if it lent itself more readily to modern churchly expression. But the plan of a Greek temple was so entirely different from that of a Christian Science church plan that it cannot consistently be used as a model for the latter. The arch, the vault and the dome, for instance, were unknown to the Greeks. Their columns and in fact, their entire buildings were enormous in scale compared with what are required nowadays. They did not superimpose one story upon another as is now done, and their temple halls were always entered from the level. What has resulted when the Grecian style has been attempted for Science



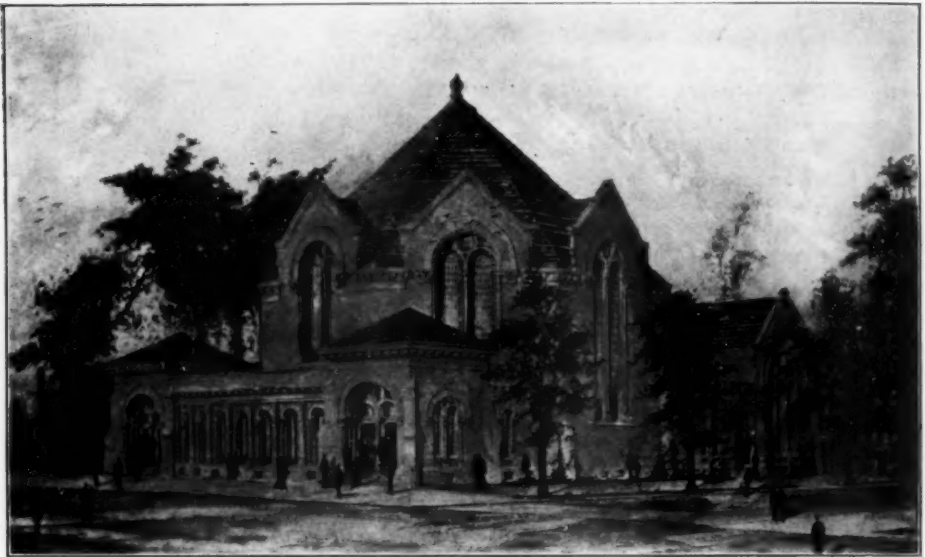
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.
JOHN GALEN HOWARD, ARCHITECT.



FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
228-230 W. 45th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

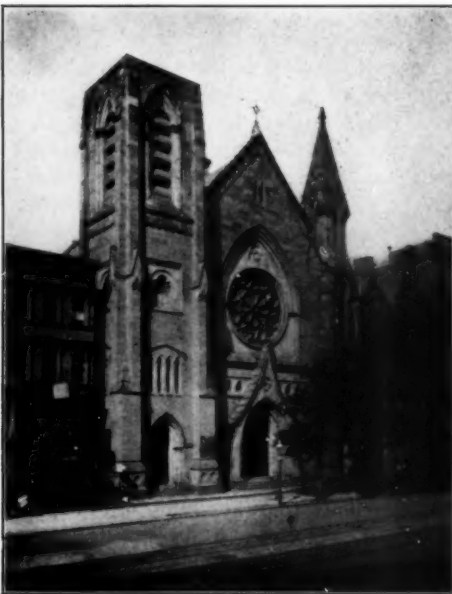
churches is really a nondescript, much more nearly resembling the work of the Romans than that of the Greeks. Some examples of it, skilfully handled, have been effective, but few are readily distinguishable as Christian churches and some are travesties on Greek architecture. (See *Encyclopedia Americana*, "Architecture," by Russell Sturgis.)

Just where the Renaissance, the Gothic, or some other appropriate style should be used is, perhaps, often a matter of taste, but it also should frequently be governed by environment. The style of most of our business buildings is of either Roman or Greek origin (commonly grouped together under the term "Classic"). Such surroundings, and especially if they include tall office-buildings are apt to overpower the more delicate beauty of Gothic design; and often, in such cases, the Classic would be more appropriate. In New York, for



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BROOKLYN, N. Y. HENRY IVES COBB, ARCHITECT.

example, we know how Trinity has been dwarfed by the tall buildings of Broadway, while the new Madison Square Presbyterian Church, amidst similar sur-

THIRD CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
NEW YORK CITY.

roundings, appears quite at home. On the other hand the Gothic seems peculiarly fitted for suburban localities, where its spires may rise clearly above surrounding objects. No one, for instance, would wish to see Salisbury Cathedral removed from the green fields and spreading trees that surround it to the crowded thoroughfares of that part of London where St. Paul's stands. In such a locality as Salisbury's site, or even in the residence district of a large city where the surrounding buildings are not high, and where there are gardens, trees and lawns, the formal Classic is apt to appear, as compared with Gothic, cold, inhospitable, severe.

Another consideration is geographical location. Some localities have historic traditions or climatic characteristics which not only is it good taste to respect, but skilfully recognizing them often results in buildings that harmonize far better with their environments than do others that have slavishly followed the architecture of dissimilar localities. In warm countries, for instance, no matter what style is followed, because roofs are not

required to shed snow they may be made less steep than those of colder climates and because in such countries protection from the sun's rays is often desirable, cornices should project further. In California, suggestions of the architecture of Spain, Italy and Mexico (where similar climatic conditions prevail) have been so successfully interwoven with some architectural work as to have excited widespread admiration, and even to have given rise to the idea that there is being created there a distinctly local style.

There is a practical side to Christian Science, which finds expression in its church edifices. They are to some extent, not alone places of worship, but also places where its healing work is often discussed. That is, Christian Scientists seem to have more reason than do most people for the informal chat after church meetings. These conditions have been met in many cases by the adoption of a vestibule or foyer enlarged over that usually provided in Christian churches. Oftentimes the basement or ground floor has been used for the purpose, the main auditorium above being approached through it by means of a stair-well or wells, cut through the center of the seating space. A better way of accomplishing the same result is to have the stairways lead into a vestibule above, from which vestibule the auditorium is entered; the object being to have the auditorium and its approach both on the same level. The most effective way is to have the

entrance, the foyer, and the auditorium all on the same floor, but it requires more room, and consequently, sometimes a larger lot and increased expenditure. At least the arrangement by which the stair-wells are cut up through the auditorium floor, should be avoided, as it is an undignified way of entering a large audience room and especially a church.

The church at Concord is a good way-mark. It is distinctly a Christian church. That it was done by one of the best firms in the country is attested by their recently winning against several distinguished competitors the commission for planning the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Many other cities also have Science churches that are a credit to them and to Christian Science. Recently there seems to be a desire to return to first principles. Many Scientists, as well as many others who are interested in Christian Science, have not been altogether proud of some of its architecture, and feel that its edifices should look less like library buildings, lecture-halls or banks than many of them do.

Brooklyn is soon to have a good Romanesque church. San Francisco has had plans drawn for a large Gothic edifice, which promises well. It is to be hoped that as Christian Science continues to grow, its architecture, by expressing more clearly a broad Christian character may also grow—in truth and hence in real beauty.

ELMER GREY.

Los Angeles, California.



BACK-YARD GARDEN OF G. W. WATTLES, HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA.

ELMER GREY AND HIS DREAM OF A NEW-WORLD ARCHITECTURE.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I.

AMERICANS as a rule little realize the upward-impelling influence of noble art on man and nation. Indeed, we as a people have been so concerned in subduing the primeval forest, in cultivating the virgin prairie, in wresting from nature her hoarded wealth buried deep in earth or hidden in mountain recesses, and in harnessing the subtle elements that they might do the bidding of commerce and manufacture, that not only our artistic appreciation but our very sense of moral proportion has been dulled. It is only of late that a considerable number of the more thoughtful of our people have come to realize that permanent greatness or enduring civilization demands that excessive devotion to material acquisition or the sordid spirit of money-getting shall give place to the higher demands of life. While there was

a time when the thought of the people necessarily had to be given chiefly to the provision of creature comforts and the acquiring of material means, that day has passed and the hour has arrived when, if the Republic is to take its place among the peoples who build on solid foundations, the material demands must yield to those things which nourish man on the higher plane of his being—to the culture and development of the ethical, esthetic and rational sides of life; to spiritual, artistic and philosophical or scientific advance. Utility is vital to progress, but utility, if made a be-all and end-all, is fatal to true greatness; and the time has come in this great and rich young land when the ideal of justice or the concept of the Golden Rule, with its creed of "all for all," or the greatest good for all, must take the place of the ideal of war or victory at the expense of others' ruin—the creed of "every man



G. W. WATTLES' RESIDENCE,
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.



GILBERT E. PERKINS' RESIDENCE
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.

for himself"; and this noble ethical concept must be companioned by the cultivation of art or appreciation for the beautiful, in order to satisfy the profound yearnings of man's nature for satisfaction in such a way that the soul shall be nourished.

There is a beauty that exalts and refines, and there is a counterfeit beauty that ministers to the lower side of life, educating men downward rather than upward. The new demand is that we have a noble art for America that shall be instinct with moral idealism; an art that first of all is sincere and true and whose atmosphere shall be wholesome and uplifting as are the glories of nature and the great masters' works of a Phidias, a Michael Angelo, a Raphael, a Bach, or

a Wagner; an art that shall be worthy of the masters of other days who wrought the greatest creations in architecture, in sculpture, in painting and in poetry.

II.

For a score of years the editor of *THE ARENA* has striven to awaken the people to a recognition of the importance of an all-comprehensive and worthy art for the New World; and from time to time we have called attention to the work of typical representatives of the new spirit—men who, like St. Gaudens, Elwell and Partridge in sculpture; J. J. Enneking in painting; Edwin Markham in poetry; and Professor S. S. Curry in oratory or the science of the spoken word, are blazing the way for a greater America.



WATTLES' GARDEN UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

This month we wish to call attention to one of our architects who in like manner is doing an important pioneer work—a man who not only enjoys an enviable eminence on the Pacific coast, but whose strong, original and artistic designs have already won for him a national reputation.

In Elmer Grey, of the firm of Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey, of Los Angeles, we have a fine example of the younger American architect under the compulsion of moral idealism. He is a typical son of the New World. His early architectural training was largely acquired in the offices of Ferry and Class, the well-known architects of Milwaukee. Twelve years were spent with this house, and here Mr. Grey's aptitude and enthusiasm were soon in evidence, and when the firm received the commission for the designing of two of the largest library buildings in the country—the library of Milwaukee and the building of the State Historical Society in Madison, Elmer Grey assisted in designing these noble structures of which the people of Wisconsin are so justly proud. Both these buildings are in the Italian Renaissance style. While in Wisconsin the young architect gained a considerable reputation for his fine taste exhibited in original designs for residences. Grace, style and fitness for environment were conspicuous characteristics of all his work.

In 1890 he won the first prize in a competition for a water-tower and pumping station, offered by *The Engineering and Building Record* of New York.

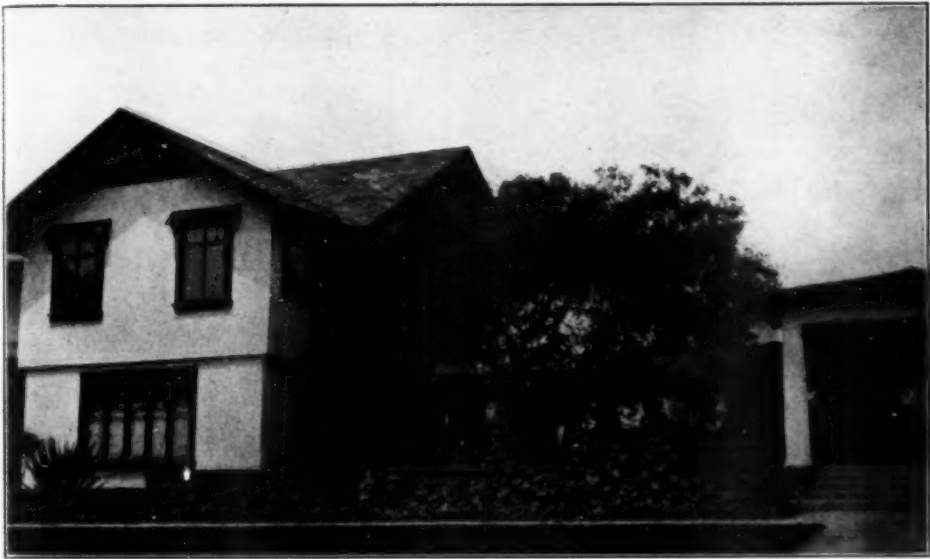
At this time he was still in the offices of Ferry and Class, and during the time with this firm he spent several vacation seasons

sketching abroad. Two of his water-color drawings made during these pilgrimages hang in the permanent collection of the Chicago Art Institute.

Finally, in quest of health, Mr. Grey removed to southern California. Here he formed a partnership with Myron Hunt, another brilliant young architect, from the Middle West. Mr. Hunt had made a splendid reputation in Chicago before removing to California. As both these architects are men of genuine artistic ability, originality and enthusiasm, with high ideals and a desire to help ennoble the art of the New World, their work has steadily gained in appreciation among the more discerning of the Pacific coast, and recently a number of very important works have been entrusted to their skill.

Among these are designs for the Throop Polytechnic Institute of Pasadena. The buildings of this great educational home when completed it is expected will cost between two and three million dollars, making one of the most beautiful and complete groups of technical buildings in America as a home for an institute that it is expected will rank with the greatest technical schools in the world.

This firm is also at present engaged in the designing of a home, garden and grounds for a wealthy gentleman's residence, which will give a fine opportunity



GILBERT E. PERKINS' RESIDENCE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.

to show what can be done when art finds an ideal stage for its setting. The home is to be in the Greek style and will occupy an imposing site on an estate of five hundred acres, dotted with live oaks and containing nine miles of finished driveway. It overlooks a beautiful valley and is backed by a range of mountains rising six thousand feet.

Another very interesting example of residence work entrusted to Messrs. Hunt and Grey is the home and gardens of Mr. G. W. Wattles, of Hollywood, California. We give views showing this place when the work was commenced, and also views after completion, as furnishing an admirable illustration of the transformation possible when art and the methods of modern civilization are employed to transform arid and unsightly districts into gardens of beauty.

The above designs are but a few of a number of important commissions that have been or are being executed by the firm of Hunt and Grey, which indicate a praiseworthy appreciation on the part of the thoughtful citizens of the Pacific

coast for architects of the first rank who have original ideas and the courage to strike out from the beaten path of imitative conventionalism.

III.

Elmer Grey is not only an artist of strength, originality and courage, but he is a man of strong faith in the future. He believes that the New World is destined to enjoy a great architecture that shall be distinctively American, an architecture that shall be sincere and honest, adapted to the life and the varying climatic and other conditions of our great Republic; one that shall be indebted to all the greatness that has gone before, but that shall be nobly free from servile imitation. As yet the new architecture is in its infancy. We have little more than the promise of the coming greatness, but enough progress has been made to encourage us in the conviction that architectural greatness will follow industrial growth and the coming economic freedom and spiritual awakening of the people.



THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, ELECTRICAL
ENGINEERING BUILDING.

Mr. Grey is one of the few American architects who are also finished essayists. He has contributed some exceptionally able papers to leading architectural journals, and in this issue of *THE ARENA* will be found an able paper from his pen on Christian Science architecture, that cannot fail to prove of deep interest to our readers, though we confess we do not personally share his views. To us the style of a place of worship is of little moment, provided it is nobly simple and artistic as are the Grecian models. There is much associated with all the temples and cathedrals of the past that is beautiful, and also much that one could wish were different. For example, while one may experience profoundly religious feelings in the presence of some of the great cathedrals, others, descendants from grave Huguenots or Dissenters whose ancestors were horribly persecuted and tortured and slain for the glory of

God and with the sanction and encouragement of the prelates who officiated in those cathedrals, experience far different emotions.

Jerusalem, Greece and Rome all contributed noble gifts to civilization, and all were responsible for many things that one cannot regard with feelings other than those of sorrow and regret. Judaism, with its noble monotheistic ideal and other lofty religious concepts, was nevertheless not great enough to tolerate the great Prophet of Nazareth or to quench the terrible spirit of intolerance and blind dogmatic bigotry that has been one of the most sinister features of many intense peoples who have cherished dogmatic religions.

Greece gave the world a noble ethical and metaphysical philosophy and a great art, but Greece was not great enough to

appreciate Socrates or noble enough to refuse to slay that teacher of exalted ethics.

Rome gave the world concepts of law and order in government, and many other important contributions to civilization and human development, but she was not great enough to be just. She strove after solidarity in government, but failed to recognize the solidarity of human life and the demands it imposes; so she, too, became a persecuting spirit and to intolerance she added despotism, cruelty and sensual excesses which in time destroyed her.

The age that brought forth the great Gothic cathedrals gave us much that was helpfully suggestive and much that did not make for civilization's advance or human happiness.

What the world to-day, it seems to us, needs to do is to get away from the bondage of past associations, as they

cling to buildings, and seek to worship God in spirit and in truth. Personally we incline to the Greek type, but we feel that here, as elsewhere, the greatest freedom should obtain in the type of building used for worship. It should be suitable for the need for which it is erected. It should be simple, artistic, pleasing, and as effective as possible for the money expended.

Mr. Grey is not himself a Christian Scientist. In answer to a question from us on this point he wrote:

"I am not a member of the Christian Science Church, but am more than willing to say that to Christian Science I owe all my present health and happiness. The account of my recovery from a long spell of semi-invalidism appeared in the Christian Science *Sentinel* of March 2d, 1907. I have also

contributed articles to the same periodical from time to time expressive either of other benefits received or of my regard for the reasonableness of its philosophy as compared with much current theological belief. I have the interests of the cause so much at heart that I hope to some day see a Christian Science architecture, as much better than much current Orthodox church work, as is its system of metaphysics to me above current theological dogma. This quality of architecture it has still to gain, but the indications are promising."



THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, CAMPUS LOOKING TOWARD ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.



THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING.

It is a good augury for the future of America that along with the tremendous social awakening, the profound and growing interest in economic problems and the ideal of free government based on justice, we find in the various branches of artistic achievement men who are virile and noble-minded idealists who, believe in a great art life for America working for such a consummation. This is true in regard to sculpture, painting,

poetry, oratory and architecture. Unless the growing signs belie their promise, America is approaching a full-orbed artistic awakening that cannot fail to exalt and ennoble her children, especially if the awakening is preceded or accompanied by that measure of economic justice that shall banish the fear of uninvited poverty and give to the toilers the measure of freedom that marks emancipated manhood.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM UNMASKED.

By W. B. FLEMING.

[SELF-GLORIFICATION.]

THE REPUBLICAN party, represented by delegates selected by the great army of office-holders and by the agencies of the syndicates and Trusts, in convention assembled, submit its holy cause to the people. The great historic organization which has freed the blacks (but enslaved the whites); which has centralized power in the National Government and made it imperial; which hopes to survive the panic of 1907 as it did that of 1873 (for both of which panics it has to confess it is responsible); which has entered upon a career of conquest; which has established a Wall-Street financial system; which glories in itself as the source of all prosperity and as having boosted our nation to her seat of honor among the aristocracies of the world: Now meets those problems of government which its own policies have created with the same devotion to plutocracy, which has distinguished its career in the past. ■■■■

■ [THE LEADERSHIP OF ROOSEVELT.]

[In this the greatest era of the advancement of plutocracy, the party has reached its highest service under the leadership

of Roosevelt. Never, since Lincoln has any Republican President so won popularity by proclaiming Democratic doctrine and parading in the "stolen clothes" of an adverse party. Never was such tribute paid to those Democratic ideals of government, which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. The louder the President proclaims these ideals, the better he voices American aspirations and represents the best aims and the worthiest purposes of his countrymen. It is true these ideals were expressed in the Democratic platform of 1896, 1900 and 1904 and not in the platforms of the Republican party of those years, and their adoption by Roosevelt has come as a surprise to the country and a shock to the Republican party. But as we know that these ideals, if carried into practice, would lift American manhood to a nobler sense of duty and obligation; that conscience and courage in public station and high standards of right and wrong in private life would thereby become cardinal principles of public faith; capital and labor be brought into closer relation and interdependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power and all the evils of privilege and favoritism be put to scorn by the simple,

manly views of justice and fair play, we must pretend to applaud them. We must assume the virtue we do not have, in order to continue the reign of Monopoly. The great accomplishments of Roosevelt which we can commend with sincerity, have been, first and foremost, his determination not "to run amuck" and the consequent failure to enforce the criminal law against the trusts, easing them off with fines, which, if ever paid, can be recouped from the consumers by raise in trust prices; second, the honoring of Mr. Morton, a conspicuous violator of the rebate law, with a place in the Cabinet and immunity from punishment; third, his surrender to the Senate of the vital section of the Railroad Rate Law, thus depriving the Interstate Commerce Commission of all power to fix rates; fourth, the retention for years in office of Mr. Knox, the appointee of the Trusts, as Attorney-General, and the appointment of Mr. Root, the chief attorney of the Trusts, to the Cabinet, and Mr. Bacon, the partner of Mr. Morgan, as Assistant Secretary of State; fifth, his affiliation with the Addicks faction in Delaware, the Quay-Penrose faction in Pennsylvania, and his opposition to the Republican reformers, La Follette, in Wisconsin, and Cummins, in Iowa, and his intimacies with the Harrimans, the Morgans, the Carnegies, and Hills and other great Republican patriots; sixth, his selection of a successor, who is entirely acceptable to Wall Street and the Trusts; and, finally, his standing "pat" on the tariff, although a free trader at heart, thus proving that he is for the party first and principle second. We also commend his going to the rescue of Wall Street in the late panic with two hundred and fifty millions of public money, and his recommendation of the "Vreeland-Aldrich Bill," which puts the public measure (money) in the hands of the big financiers. We even favor his course in the matter of arbitration between Capital and Labor, his efforts for a limited control of the railroads, the conservation of the natural

resources and improvement of the inland waterways, inasmuch as these efforts help to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people and to enable the party to feel secure in power. Hence we declare our unfaltering adherency to the policies thus inaugurated and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL.

By means of our great natural resources and marvelous inventions and the genius of American labor, together with a series of "fat" years of unprecedented crops, our rich have become the richest in the world. Their wealth exceeds that of all the Princes and aristocrats of England, France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born, the total wealth of the country was sixteen billions. It has leaped to one hundred and ten billions. While the Lords of Great Britain have gathered less than sixty billions in five hundred years, our industrial barons and money kings now own and control more than that sum, and our millionaires are fast becoming billionaires. While our labor class makes one-third of all manufactured products and live in penury, our plutocrats own or control them all. Coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation for all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products—these are the sources of the greatness of our civilization, and in all these fields the supremacy of America's plutocracy is undisputed. And yet our great actual wealth has scarcely been touched. We have a great domain of three million square miles, literally bursting with hidden treasures; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers, and in all the varied products of the field, the forests and the factories, waiting the magic touch of the wand of labor and machinery to be converted into wealth for our millionaires under Republican rule. With gratitude

for God's bounty, vouchsafed only to the Republican party; with a pride in its splendid achievements of the past; and confidence in our readiness to do even more in the future for our rich, we declare for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign, the favored few should have the usufruct and that to this end there shall be equal opportunity for the rich to grow richer and for the horny hand of toil to learn to labor and to wait.

THE REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded and the necessity of promoting present conditions and the prosperity of the privileged classes under the operation of Republican policies as the recent panic brought on by Rockefeller, Morgan & Company by which the Steel Trust was enabled to absorb its only rival, the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company, and the big financiers manipulate the stock-gambling market by a change in prices to the extent of ten billions of dollars. So nobly did these big financiers rush to the rescue of the markets, after thus exploiting the public, that they became the idols of the people who proclaimed them as the saviors of their country. Although we are still within the throes of this travail, we declare that the people have had a safe passage and are now, or will soon be, more prosperous than ever.

The Republican party, for twelve years, has been in complete control of the government, and, except at short intervals, has been in such control for more than half a century. It has enacted the tariff, financial and railroad legislation, which has built up the plutocratic oligarchy and at the recent session of Congress has adopted many other wise and progressive measures to buttress the trusts and taken good care that the Democratic measures recommended by our great and good President were side-

tracked; and although the Democratic Representatives in Congress stood solidly for those measures recommended by the President, we declare that the failure to pass them is wholly due to those filibustering Democrats. Nevertheless, the Republican party passed an Emergency Bill in the interest of Wall Street.

TARIFF REVISION.

Seeing that the Dingley Law is odorous to the people, we decline to further "stand pat" on the tariff, and declare unequivocally for a revision of the tariff "after the election." We do not deem it expedient at this time to express an opinion whether by such revision we mean to lower or raise the schedule, and we refuse to put ourselves on record as to the charge that the tariff shelters the trusts, or to denounce the captains of industry for selling their products dearer at home than abroad. But the manufacturers have good reason to know that no bill will be approved by the Republican party which is not first approved by them. We declare, however, our continued purpose to mask the iniquities of the tariff behind the plea of protection to labor, whose high standard of living under present laws and prices, if not in fact existing, is nevertheless hereby proclaimed. It must further be made known that the chief end of all Republican tariff is the enrichment of the workingmen and not of the manufacturers. The poverty of the Carnegies and the Fricks and the luxuries enjoyed by the men and women and children who toil in factories sufficiently attest this truth. Between the United States and the Philippines we favor free trade in everything in which the trusts are not implicated.

RECENT CURRENCY BILL.

We approve the Vreeland-Aldrich Bill as the best emergency measure the Republicans in Congress could agree

upon. This measure is highly acceptable for the present, but the Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system responsive to the demands of the captains of high finance. Hence a monetary commission has been appointed by the present Congress to investigate the subject and be ready to propose the most effective measure for this realization. We will call such measures means to provide an "elastic currency." This will enable the money kings to contract and expand the currency at will, and thus still further control prices and add to their millions, and to Republican campaign funds.

TUBS TO THE WHALE.

As a "sop" to the reformers and a text for our spellbinders, we weakly favor a postal savings-banks system.

We favor more effective control of the railroads, in an abstract way, but lest we be taken seriously as to this we decline to give any concrete expression to our views, further than to say that in our opinion all discriminations have been abolished and we see no evidence of extortion anywhere. The railroads have come to be very good. Secret mergers still continue, and these are against the law. We, therefore, favor an amendment to the law expressly authorizing "pooling" contracts.

We have tried to placate the workingman by tinkering at employment liability, safety appliances, protection for engineers and firemen, reduction of hours of labor, arbitration, compensation for injured employes law, which we confess amount to but little, but we promise to do better after the election.

We call attention to our child-labor statute for the District of Columbia, but fearing that the people may get on to the idea, that if this statute is good for the little District of Columbia, it might be a good thing for the whole United States, we have ordered investigation into the condition of working women and children, telephone and telegraph employes,

etc. When we don't want to legislate, but to fool the people, we are great on investigating committees.

THE INJUNCTION PLANK.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, especially when they declare an income tax unconstitutional, or set aside the laws of the state, or fix railroad rates, but to placate the labor vote we venture to declare that the courts ought not to issue injunctions unless they choose to do so.

THE AMERICAN FARMER.

All prosperity rests upon the wage-earner and the farmer. The Republican party for the last twelve years has been the special ally of Providence; has made the sun to shine and the rain to fall and the harvest abundant. By the manipulation of the trusts, the wealth thus produced has been diverted from the toiler and producer to the trusts, but the millions should nevertheless be grateful to the Republican party for their great opportunities to make the rich richer and the millionaires billionaires. If the Republican Congress by special favoritism to the railroads has through the Postal Department in its methods of weighing the mail given millions of dollars in the way of unearned profits to the great corporations the farmers should control themselves with grateful reflections upon the benefits conferred on them by the extension of the free mail rural delivery. We are even willing to aid the states in building good roads. We do not think it advisable at the present time to declare for a ship-subsidy bill, but if we carry the next Congress we intend to pass such a bill and give the monopoly of the commerce of the seas to the great captains who now enjoy the monopoly of land commerce, and we shall do this under the plea that it will help the farmer and the toiler to get their products to foreign markets.

SOP TO THE NEGROES.

It is true that there were more Democrats than Republicans in the Union Army which freed the negro, but we claim this glory exclusively for the Republicans. We, therefore, appeal to the voters of the African race to support our ticket whether they like our candidate or not.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

We want the natural resources conserved, the waste of timber prevented, the arid lands reclaimed, the waterways, harbors and Great Lakes improved, so as to safeguard the future exploitation of the country for our wards, the trusts.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

We favor a great army and navy. This will enable us to protect the trust magnates in their exploitation of foreign countries, and if troubles arise in the conflict between Capital and Labor at home, we can speedily put an end to them. In this connection we have taken the precaution to put the state militia under Federal control.

EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Our great foreign commerce, which aggregates three billions annually, enables us to pay not only for our importations including luxuries for the rich, but to meet the enormous tribute we have to pay to the capitalists of Europe—a tribute rendered necessary by our wise financial system.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

At a late meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, the highest honors were paid to a plain American citizen who is not a Republican and who is without trust alliance. Nevertheless we endorse the action of that body as a matter of form, although we intend to proceed with our system of militarism.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We have heretofore boasted of our Civil Service Law, and our President has been the High Priest of the Civil Service. But with the late raid of our army of officeholders upon the Republican primaries fresh in the minds of the American people our plank upon Civil Service must be short. We can only say that we are in favor of obeying the Civil Service Laws in the same manner in which they have been obeyed in the selection of the candidate for the Presidency we are about to name.

MISCELLANEOUS.

As we rely upon contributions from the great corporations to carry the next election, we have taken care not to pass a law requiring publicity in the matter of such contributions, and, of course, cannot now favor such a law, however great the clamor among the plain people may be for such action. But we favor the public health and the Bureau of Mines and Mining.

COLONIZATION.

Notwithstanding the fact that the United States was born of a protest against colonization, and although such government is denounced by the Great Declaration and is inconsistent with the genius of our institutions, and despite the fact that the Father of our party declared that "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent," nevertheless we adhere to our colonization schemes in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and recommend the celebration of Lincoln's birthday.

PARTY DIFFERENCES.

The differences between the Republican and Democratic parties are fundamental and irrepressible. The first stands for the few, the latter for the many; the one for the millionaire, the other for the million; the one for a currency controlled by the big financiers, the other by the

government as the agency for the people; the one for gold and the other for silver as well as gold; the one for a no-cent dollar, the other for a fifty-cent dollar; the one for a "telescope" currency, expanding and contracting at the will of the money kings, the other for a stable currency; the one for protection of the manufacturers, the other for the protection of the producer and consumer. On all these issues we declare that the Republican party has been vindicated. We insist that the "dinner-pail" is still full, and that no panic is possible under Republican rule, and that the panic we have proves the prosperity of the country. The Democratic party is weak enough to stand for "equal rights for all" and "special privileges to none." We stand for special privileges for the favored few. The Democratic party stands for obstruction to trust methods; the Republican party for construction of the giant trusts. If the Republican party be kept in power, the Democratic party cannot perform its promises, but the Republicans can.

What we denounce in the Democratic party as Socialistic we pretend to favor, but this is done only for the purpose of winning votes. Everybody can see that Republicanism will give opportunity to the trusts while the Democratic party would only give opportunity to the average man. The Republican party believes that the corporations should govern the people. The Democratic party believes that the people should govern the corporations. We, therefore, appeal to the voters to stand by the Republican party.

Upon this platform we go before the country, asking not only the support of the millionaires, of which we are already assured, but of the millions; not only of those who shear the sheep, but of the sheep who are sheared. We, therefore, demand a unanimous endorsement of our noble principles regardless of all past party affiliations, and ask that the policies of the Republican party and its great achievements for the trusts be made secure and perpetual.

W. B. FLEMING.

Louisville, Kentucky.

MODERN INDIVIDUALISM.

BY REV. LEWIS J. DUNCAN.

FOR A LONG time past, covering many generations, there has been a distinct and growing recognition of the individual in human thought, and of his importance in human institutions. Along with this, a distinct and more or less conscious effort on the part of society to give freer and fuller play to the powers of the individual, to safeguard him in the exercise of those powers, and in the attainment of what will make for his personal well-being and enjoyment. We are pretty unanimously agreed that this is right and good. We rejoice not only in the opportunities afforded by modern society for the exercise of our own powers and the

development of our own individuality, but also that these opportunities can be enjoyed by other individuals.

We take pleasure in the company of persons of strong individuality. It refreshes and stimulates to meet a man or a woman who is unique and not a mere reflex of the commonplace, a dull echo of conventionality. We admire the way in which such a person throws off the impediments with which mere custom or the thoughts and the doings of other individuals would restrict him. We even admire the way in which our own opposition is unable to thwart him. We may not like the way in which his individuality

opposes our own, or his mastery of circumstances thwarts our cherished schemes; but down in our hearts, beneath all our displeasure and chagrin, we admire him just the same, and though we may hate, we cannot despise him. Our pity and contempt are all for the one who has been overborne by circumstances, or overpowered by the stronger and opposing individuals. It is one of the cardinal doctrines of our individualism that by allowing such full and free play, by giving scope, as we say, to the individual's initiative, keeping our hands off so long as it does not interfere too seriously with other individuals, does not become oppressive and tyrannical, and a social menace, the conduct of affairs and the future destinies of society fall rightfully and naturally into the hands of the strongest, wisest, most capable individuals, whilst mediocrity sinks to its proper level. And this result, we have generally agreed, is altogether the safest, sanest, as well as the happiest that can befall society; inasmuch as what the strongest, wisest and most capable find to their best interests must, necessarily, prove to be for the best interest of the rest of us.

The world of human affairs has been conducted on this and kindred principles for a considerable time, and these individualistic notions have taken deep root in our civilization, in our institutions, in our ways of thinking, and in our estimates of social values. Whether justly or not, it has become the popular notion that in this way, and according to those principles, we have attained most of the things that we prize the highest and the standards of which we are proudest. "See," we say, "what conquest of the earth has been accomplished by this free play of the individual power. Mark the material splendor of those nations in which the widest scope has been allowed to individual initiative; what enormous resources have been developed; what tremendous strides of genius in the way of invention; what facilities of adaption to a rapidly changing environment—

each new necessity calling forth the facile wit and skill with which to meet it; how superlatively refined have our faculties for comfort, pleasure and even luxuries become; how widespread is intelligence, and how cultured human appreciations of literature and art have grown!" And much more of the same sort of optimistic rhapsody do we say and hear said nearly every day of our lives.

It seems quite ungracious, even churlish, and sometimes even blasphemous, in the midst of such a chorus of felicitation, for one to remain gravely silent, or to raise his voice in protest or warning against too hasty or too shallow judgment. We mildly reproach such an one by mourning over him as a pessimist. If he persists, we become irritated with him, and avoid him as much as possible. And if he still remains obdurate and continues his Jeremiads, we denounce him as a dangerous disturber, and torture him with every cruelty our refined tastes enable us to invent and use.

You see, there is just enough truth in the individualistic doctrine, and just enough truth also in the popular and superficial statement of some facts of social progress under the individualistic régime, to give color to the optimistic view; and, besides, we human beings, as a rule, have the faculty of seeing things as we like to have them look. And we like things to look rosy and inviting. Facts that look otherwise we like to tuck out of sight and to forget. We do not relish having them brought out of their hiding and thrust upon our attention, and we invent all manner of ways in our religion, in our ethics, in our politics, and in our philosophies of life and of government, by which to explain them away and to justify to ourselves the comforting assurance that everything is just about as good as can be, and that, granting evils do exist, there is no use making such a fuss about them; if we only keep quiet and let things work out, they will come around all right bye-and-bye. Such is the characteristic temper of modern

individualism, and it choicely labels that temper optimistic.

But, to be optimistic does not mean to be intellectually obtuse and morally apathetic. It is not optimistic to thrust disagreeable facts into the background and out of sight. It is not optimistic to explain them away when thrust upon our attention. To be optimistic, is, to be both intellectually alert and morally active, to be willing to face every fact and phase of life, and to search out the true meanings of them, and to trust not to chance but to the divine forces of life for the righting of whatever is wrong. And the divine forces, the optimist well knows, are not mere abstractions, not something alien or remote, or miraculously providential, but real, and vital, and very near at hand, and that in human affairs they work infallibly through human thoughts and human choices and human actions. He believes with all his heart and soul that things will work out all right; but not in spite of or without human willing and human doing; but, rather, because of and by reason of those agencies, and his hope for the future, is, just that humanity is teachable; is able to change its ways; is capable of finding out what is wrong in its affairs, and of correcting that, and arriving at truer, juster, kinder, and wiser ways. That faith is the basis of his willingness to face even disagreeable things. It is a faith that is militant and does not know the meaning of fear.

One need not, then, cease being an optimist in order to see that, in the practical working out of the individualistic formula, human society has arrived at some results not foreseen by the early apostles of individualism, and not wholly satisfactory to many people of to-day who, abating not one jot of their devotion to the principles of freedom and the supreme importance of the individual, which were at the core of the old doctrine, still persist in the feeling and belief that something more than dollars and utilities are involved in social prog-

ress; that there is still such an old-fashioned thing as ethics involved in it; that superior even to the individual are the demands of the moral ideal; that whatever freedom is to be allowed to the play and the full development of individual faculties, must, in some way, be made conformable with such commands of the moral code as "Thou shalt not kill"; "Thou shalt not steal"; "Thou shalt not swear falsely"; and with such prophetic precepts as "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It is being borne in upon some of us, optimists and pessimists alike, that along with increasing populations, increasing wealth, expanding markets, multiplying inventions and comforts and luxuries, refinements of taste, growing intelligence, and all that, we ought to take into consideration the moral and economic issues of civilization that are involved in this *régime* of freedom. To those who feel this way, every new departure of individual enterprise, every fresh evidence of material progress, every new factory, every addition to the comfort, the luxury, the pleasure and the profit of mankind is as much an occasion for rejoicing as it is to the rest of us. But what these people of conscience in this twentieth century are concerned in knowing, is, not how much additional capital and labor, dollars and utilities, these good things stand for; but whether they mean more civilized, enlightened and morally sound men and women, or only more brute force, more folly, more cupidity, more filth, more disease, more lust and crime.

You see, a century of experiment in industrial civilization, according to the principle of non-interference with the individual initiative, has taught these people some instructive lessons which lead them to doubt and question whether the popular doctrine does not require some important modifications. They perceive, indeed, that not only have the

most progressive thinkers and teachers of social economics admitted certain limitations of the doctrine, but that laws and institutions have had to undergo modifications to fit developments not consistent with or provided for by the strict individualistic theories, and they are beginning to ask whether other limitations should not be recognized, and other modifications made, in order to still further educate the popular opinion and the popular conscience so that what liberty and what individuality is still left us may be preserved and uplifted toward the realization of a more perfect and ideal civilization.

They doubt, for instance—no, they do not doubt, they know—that the “economic man” actuated by purely selfish motives, who is so prominent in the classic political economics and who still lingers in the popular theories of the multitude, is a pure abstraction; that no such individual ever did nor ever will exist. They doubt that the best good of the community is realized through the free play of individual cupidities. They doubt that every individual knows his true interest or, if he does, that he will infallibly pursue it. They doubt that the economic advantage of the individual always coincides with that of the whole social body. They are certain that in many cases it does not, and that where it does not, it is not the social advantage that should suffer. They doubt if the free play of individual initiative does bring about the rule of the strongest, wisest and most capable individuals. And they doubt if the popular belief that such is the result, and the popular idolatry of the successful ones, are not corrupting the social conscience and elevating material ends to an importance that is obscuring the moral destinies of mankind.

In justification of these doubts they point to the unquestionable facts and tendencies of present times: to the gigantic proportions of our corporate interests,

their growing tendency toward monopolization not only of certain products, which the social development has made and is more and more making common necessities, but monopolization, too, of the opportunities for the individual initiative which, according to the individualistic hypothesis, is so essential a factor in the social well-being. But it is not so much the fact of monopoly, as it is the means by which it has been accomplished and the ways in which it is being carried on that is most significant. Monopoly can be readily and scientifically demonstrated as a natural, and therefore inevitable, social phenomenon, and as not, in and of itself, harmful. It can be demonstrated, indeed, as a positive social benefit. But what these doubters and critics do find significant and socially obnoxious, is that under the “let-alone” policy, and the materialistic interpretation of the principle of individual freedom, the method by which these monopolies have been acquired, the way in which that principle has put superlative power in the hands of a relatively few individuals, and the means that these privileged ones have used to hold and extend that power, and the manner in which they are actually exercising their power, all combine in the making of conditions in the highest degree unsocial, and productive of material, moral and spiritual ills that are felt throughout the whole body of society, and are surely crushing out the ambitions, the abilities, the health and hope and happiness of men and women, and even of little children.

What is it that is being uncovered in all the recent investigations into municipal affairs, into the conduct of our national land and timber bureaus, into the method of our great railroad, coal and oil and food industries, and into the affairs of insurance companies, and even of our great political parties and politicians? Put into one word it is “graft,” is it not? This once innocent bucolic word has

taken on meanings in recent years that will make it forever infamous. It has come to mean "getting something for nothing." Not many years ago we used to think that the ability to do that was the mark of a very smart, wise and capable individual. Perhaps some of us still think it is so—in some cases where we do not happen to be the victims. But these municipal grafters, these timberland and placer-ground grafters, these legislative grafters, these transportation oil, and beef-industry grafters—oh, these, we have suddenly discovered to be just plain rascals and thieves, and their methods most reprehensible. Why? If it is only because they have been found out, then there is little I have to say that will interest or instruct you. But if it is because they are shown to be social parasites and plunderers, and because their ubiquity demonstrates that our whole social fabric and life is infected with this disease of advantage and privilege-seeking, this morbid passion for getting something for nothing, then we can reason together. For if, as seems to be the case, this unrestricted individualism is leading to graft, and if parasitism and plunder are sapping our American civilization, interfering with the fullest, freest and most beneficent development of many individuals, and putting the conduct of our industries and our national institutions into the hands and under the direction of the most brutal and unscrupulous members of society, it must be because in some way men's faith in the old moral sanctions has failed, and that, all over the country, great numbers of men have ceased to feel, or, at any rate, to order their conduct under, any sense of accountability either to God or to their fellow-members of the commonwealth. There has come to pass a widespread skepticism concerning any logical or practical relation between honest labor and prosperity, and between personal integrity and happiness. On the contrary, what men do see is enormous fortunes built actually out of nothing and,

at the other end of the social scale, hosts of men, who have labored faithfully and long, living in enforced idleness and in need of the commonest comforts, even necessities, of life—both facts not only contrary to the teachings based on the principles of individualism, but also directly opposed to every instinct for justice and social righteousness in the soul of man.

I hear a great deal of fault-finding and condemnation of what is called "labor-graft." I know there is such a thing. I know it is unjust and reprehensible. But you must excuse me from spending much of my too fleeting breath and energy and time about that, because I know so well that labor-graft is only a tardy and relatively feeble copy of the much older and more tempting and devastating commercial graft. The latter was born of subtle conspiracies and secret telegraphic codes, fostered by cultured, cold, calculating greed and nurtured on land monopoly, tariff privileges, unlawful rebates and stealthy bribes. The other was born of the lock-out and the strike, fostered by the ignorance, hunger and fear of great masses of disinherited men, and nurtured by class discontent and conscienceless competition. Personally, I find it difficult to choose between two such products. Craft on the one hand, violence on the other; both sordid, both evidence of the deadly selfishness of modern individualism. But labor-graft is, at any rate, less hypocritical than the graft of high finance, and that judgment, I know, is the faint praise that is damning.

It is all very well to talk of the infractions of the moral law of which the wage-earners are guilty; but does it ever occur to you how little regard for the moral law there is in the other class, in the circles of the successful in high finance, and in monopolistic industry? Here, for instance, is a great corporation which employs thousands of men. A reduction in its working force is made. Half, or even two-thirds, of the workers are

thrown out of employment. In that action no consideration is made of the laborer, or of the length or the quality of his service, of his personal interest and necessities. Only the competitive and financial advantage of the corporation is considered. Some of those men have grown old, others more or less maimed or deformed, in the service of the company. Some have bought homes, and have families depending upon them. How much moral quality, *if you were one of those men*, would you find in the judgment which shuts the gate of the factory in your face, for an indefinite period, and compels you to become a wanderer from your home to seek for a chance to make yourself socially useful, while your wife and little ones suffer poverty, after all those long years of faithful labor? Suppose, now, that you talk to one of those men about the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Suppose you tell him that, if he will be honest and industrious and temperate and frugal, he will attain success and happiness. Will it shock you if he laughs in your face and tells you to be damned? Can't you understand that all your fervid moralizing is like cold, stale mush to this man, into whose soul the iron of social injustice and industrial wrong has entered?

We hear a great deal of the religious apathy of the working class. They do n't attend the church services. I think that is unfortunate for both the church and the working-man; but I can also understand that it is not wholly his fault. Suppose that one of those unemployed men should enter one of our popular, metropolitan churches in search of religious consolation for his misery, and reassurance for his embittered and discouraged spirit. I can fancy him not feeling very comfortable in that well-fed, well-dressed, prosperously complacent congregation. But, if he should swallow his pride and stay, how much appetite or relish for the "milk of the word" do you suppose he would have as he glanced

about him and saw who and what the habitual worshippers are? He would see among them men and women, who have been honored by positions on the board of trustees of the church, or official places in this or that church auxiliary, or by the responsibilities of teachers in its Sunday-school, who live without socially useful labor on dividends from corporations that have stolen franchises, that have bribed city councils and state legislatures, and suborned witnesses and juries and even judges in our courts; that have acquired lands on false affidavits; that have imported foreign laborers, and employed agencies which supply strike-breakers in regiments made up from the scum of the criminal and brutalized residents of city slums; that hire bums and hoboos in preference to self-respecting men, because they are cheaper and do n't kick when they are discharged or make trouble when they are injured; that house these men in camps reeking with filth and vermin, and feed them on refuse unfit for human beings; that derive large incomes from unsanitary tenements, and from real-estate the rents of which come from the wretched women of the under world, who live by selling their own live bodies.

I do not wish to be unfair. I do not mean that all the church congregations are made up of people whose living comes from such foul channels. I do not believe they are. I do not even say that the majority of the church congregations, even in our large and wealthy centers of population, is made up of the non-producing class; but I do say that in the honored membership of a large number of churches, there will be found those who are living socially useless lives upon incomes derived from the profits of business enterprises no more reputable than these I have mentioned. They are people who occupy high financial, industrial and social positions, whose very presence in and support of a church gives it a certain distinction, and some of them have great reputation for piety, for

benevolence and for lives of unimpeachable personal integrity. I do not question this in the least. But, I ask, is it any wonder if the discharged and disheartened working-man, finding himself in such company, fails to get much religious consolation or reinforcement to help him through the period of idleness, or that he fails to recognize in the success and the opulence of these good people, and in the poverty and distress of his own home, any assurance that a beneficent providence rules in the affairs of men, any evidence that the brotherhood of man is more than a beautiful dream due to spiritual intoxication, or any proof, or even basis for the hope, that this world of ours is a moral order, the laws of which are irrefragable?

For more than a generation past, the pulpit, platform and press of our land have united in lauding and heroizing the representatives of a predatory and demoralized individualism in the realms of commerce and industry. This heroizing has actually convinced many of the successful class that they are, in some way, the active partners with Divine Providence in the business of taking care of the country and administering its wealth, and that they are, or ought to be, above the laws. That is bad enough; but what is worse is, that the whole social organism has developed, through the same cause, a commercialized conscience—somebody has aptly called it a “get-rich-quick-conscience”—which is impervious to robbery that is being perpetrated upon the whole people through the various insidious forms of special privilege our laws sanction, and through other forms which secretly evade the letter of the laws, and which, in all their significant ramifications violate the demands of justice and even set at naught the imperative mandates of the moral ideal.

To this, then, has our much admired individualism and its flattering postulates of freedom, and individual initiative, and equality before the law, and the right of private contract, and others o

like kind, brought us in these latter days; a world of “Graft,” the social apotheosis of the biggest and most successful grafters, a degenerate “get-something-for-nothing” conscience regnant in the common life and thought of the American public, and the swift and certain destruction of the sanctions of the moral law for the youth of our land. An unmoral and unrestricted individualism has, indeed, developed strong, wise, capable men, of a certain type, and the government has fallen into their hands. So far the old doctrine was sound. But now that we have them, we don’t like the type. Their strength is brutal, their wisdom that of hell, and their capabilities those of powerful pirates. Naturally the conduct of government and industry, under their guidance, becomes increasingly unsocial and lawless.

When we look at the great mass of disinherited, demoralized, desperate men and women, which is the price we have to pay for our “American Beauties”; when we see their numbers rapidly increasing, poverty and crime increasing, the many crowded down and out, integrity and faithfulness counting for little or nothing; when we see them with calloused hearts and souls, dead to all appeals to righteousness and to patriotism, and becoming the willing constituents of grafting politicians, who, in their turn, are the venal and unpatriotic tools of grafting business men and industrial pirates, does n’t it begin to grow into something like moral conviction that we are paying too high a price for a rather useless and exploded theory? Does n’t it begin to take hold of you with a sort of religious fervor that our ideas of individualism need some important revisions; that they must become more socialized, more moralized; that our practice of its principles also had better be reformed, and conditions brought about, through the united action of the men and women who have not yet lost all regard for humanity, all veneration for justice, all faith in the moral ideal, all confidence in

the power of an enlightened mind and conscience, all sensitiveness to any social spirit fit to be called patriotism, which shall put a stop to the wicked spoliation of the weak by the strong, through special privileges of every sort, and restore to the individual, even the poorest and the weakest, those opportunities and those necessities on which alone he can rely for the physical strength, the intellectual acumen and culture, and the moral

vigor and faith that shall make him truly individual and at the same time truly social; a blessing and not a bane to his fellows—a man, indeed, the measure of whose material gain and social honor is no longer how much and how adeptly he can practice the art of grafting, but the measure of his ability, his industry, his integrity in genuine social service?

LEWIS J. DUNCAN.

Butte, Montana.

POSTAL POLLS.

By HERBERT CONSTABLE.

A VOTE deliberately made in the privacy of his home, free from excitement or influence, without the annoyance or inconvenience of the polls and with the proposed laws printed in black and white before him, would call forth the highest degree of intelligence and thought the citizen could use.

We have, ready at hand, the necessary material for a national register of voters. The census could give us a list of resident voters for ten years to come. We have a register of immigrants as naturalized, and we also have death registers.

It is just as easy and practicable for the *Congressional Record* with proposed laws and ballots printed in it, to be systematically and regularly mailed to every citizen as it is for weekly, daily and monthly publications to be mailed by millions in the aggregate as is done every day. It would be less work handling return envelopes containing votes, all addressed to one point, than to handle the millions of circulars which are mailed every day to different addresses. In fact, the delivery of mail to every citizen would increase and improve our mail facilities more than the extra labor would hamper them. (The labor of compiling a city directory is as nothing in comparison to the time it saves in the

end. A national directory of voters would be proportionately more valuable.

Postal polls might necessitate the employment of more carriers or clerks in some places, and then by means of clerks at Washington with counting and numbering machines, the counting of the votes and recording and announcing of the results would become clock-like and a mere matter of routine. Our mails are safe and reliable.

The public has no voice in public affairs now. Once in a while they think they select delegates, who select the candidates, who, if elected, select the speaker, who selects the committees who do our national thinking and who really make our laws. For the sake of party policy or because of other influences these committees sometimes allow laws to be dictated by lobbyists or interested parties who are not the choice of the people and are still further removed from the public in opinions and interests. Our "right to vote" does not amount to much under such indirect, cumbersome and complicated methods.

Our laws are always made in ignorance of the wishes of the people because they are not allowed to show their wishes by voting on each of them. They are often made in ignorance of the public interests.

They are sometimes made contrary to the general good, because of selfish or dishonest reasons.

We have tried different parties and different elements in the same parties, but the best results have not been accomplished and never will be under present methods, and it is visionary to hope for it.

There is but one way to be certain of having our laws "of the people, by the people and for the people," and that is to have each fundamental law submitted to the people, the decision of the people to be final, regardless of Congressional or Presidential action.

Congress should have the right to frame laws and submit them to the people. We would then have the benefit of their counsel and advice without the absolute surrender of our rights to a possible betrayal or sacrifice to the wishes of the few.

A petition signed by a certain number of citizens pledging their votes to it, should be sufficient to have a proposed law submitted without alteration to the votes of the people. The number of signers should not be made so large as practically to prevent its use, nor so small as to make it too easy to burden the public with the consideration of unimportant matters which have no material public support.

Postal polls do not call for any exertion or self-denial. Ballots would be delivered and gathered by mail-carriers, or as other mail is handled.

Then hasty legislation would be avoided and no laws could be railroaded through Congress in the last days of the session. Wise laws could not be suppressed.

If the people make the laws, accept or veto them, the President becomes in reality the chief executive of the will of the people; he may advise but he cannot dictate what their laws shall or shall not be.

While still retaining its administrative duties, Congress may propose laws or debate upon those proposed by the people; but while it may plan our des-

tinies, it cannot control nor decide them.

Shorn of its greatest power for possible good or evil, the fate of the country would not be at stake in the election of Congressmen, and instead of the periods of excitement and uncertainty preceding every election and continuing until Congress adjourns, we would have matters quietly decided as they naturally came, up, by the vote of the people through the mails.

Then all laws would be more generally known and better understood. No laws could be passed contrary to public sentiment. With wiser laws, better understood, and each backed by the majority of the people, they would be better observed and more easily enforced.

It has at all times been generally conceded that a democracy in which the people rule, is the ideal form of government. Even those opposed to such a form of government grudgingly admit there are but two objections: first, that it could not be carried out in a large country; and, second, that they feel doubtful of the wisdom of the people.

The first objection has been the all-important one because it has been true in the past. The use of postal polls, however, would remove this objection, and time itself has made postal polls possible.

At the time of the adoption of our Constitution, the United States consisted of thirteen remote states composed of distant counties containing a few loosely-connected towns and many isolated and almost inaccessible farms. A census had not been taken. Newspapers were few and of small circulation and it often took many months for news to spread.

But to-day conditions are entirely different. Steam, electricity, telegraph and telephone, with modern printing-presses, mail facilities, education and easy travel, enable us to disseminate information more thoroughly throughout the land in hours than we could then in months, and our improved mail facilities would make it easier to vote through the mails than at the polls.

It seems inconsistent that even a very few should doubt that the American people are capable of deciding their laws, and yet believe that half a thousand Americans selected by modern political methods out of eighty million people should have more wisdom and knowledge of the people's wants and requirements than the eighty million people themselves.

That careful and unbiased authority, Webster's International Dictionary, says of the government of Switzerland:

"Switzerland is a federative republic. The government approaches more nearly the democratic form than does that of any other state of Europe. The advantage of complete local initiative in local affairs is shown in the Swiss system better than in any other government which has existed since the epoch of the Greek democracies. . . . A striking peculiarity

of the Swiss constitution is the direct voice of the people in legislative affairs through the initiative and referendum. The demand of 30,000 citizens or of eight cantons obliges the Assembly to submit any one of its acts to a popular vote for revision or annulment. An amendment of the federal constitution must be submitted to the people at the request of 50,000 voters. The different cantons, each having its own Council, apply the same principle in different degrees. Zürich even submits all the acts of its Council to the popular vote at semi-annual elections, while in Zürich every citizen may propose a law to the Council, and if one-third of that body vote favorably it must be submitted to the people. *The results under this plan show a conservative disposition in the people.*"

HERBERT CONSTABLE.

Everett, Massachusetts.

THE GREAT TO-MORROW.

BY MARIA WEED.

TRADITION is the Sovereign of the world, and loyalty to precedent is well nigh universal.

If there be any new "Wine of Life" in Modernism, society demands that it shall be preserved in the old, time-honored bottles, lest historical privilege be curtailed. Hence we have the unique and grotesque attempt to unite the theories of Calvin and Darwin.

Sin is any want of conformity unto or transgression of the law of proverbial tenets, and new ideas—to gain a hearing—must be "tricked out" in the ancient phrasing of times, when in the nature of things, they were unthinkable. Every new discovery is thus hobbled at birth and

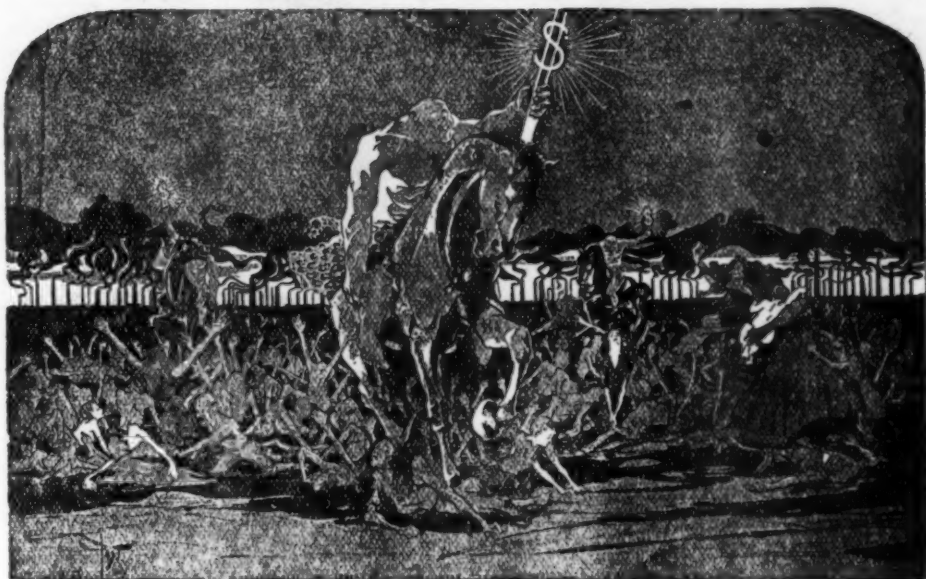
comes limping into the realm of thought; where Modification and Conformity are the "Angels with drawn swords," who guard the portals of the Mental World.

The glorified saints and heroes of this age were the criminals and outcasts of their day, the martyr's crown being the reward of a later generation. What a pitiful reflection upon human intelligence, that the truth-finders of all ages have fought their battles alone, and have died fearlessly, with their faces toward the setting sun, encouraged and comforted by the rapturous visions of a Great To-morrow.

MARIA WEED.

New York City.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Post, in the New York Evening Call.

THE LABOR OF CHILDREN.



Johnson, in Wilshire's Magazine.

THE NAUGHTY BOY CAUGHT.

"The feeling of restless apprehension with which the workers view the apathy of congress is accentuated by the recent decision of the Supreme Court."—From "Labor's Protest to Congress," Senate Document No. 400.



Oppen, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

ONE OF THE SEVEN MODERN WONDERS OF THE WORLD!

The other six wonders are, Why-the-Common-People-
Stand-It!



De Mar in the Philadelphia Record.
A NEW INCENTIVE FOR CALLING THE
WORKMEN BACK TO THE MILLS.



Wellington, in the Knoxville Sentinel.
CONSISTENCY!



Bradley, in the Chicago Daily News.
RE-UNITED DEMOCRACY.



Williams, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger.
"NEVER TOUCHED ME!"



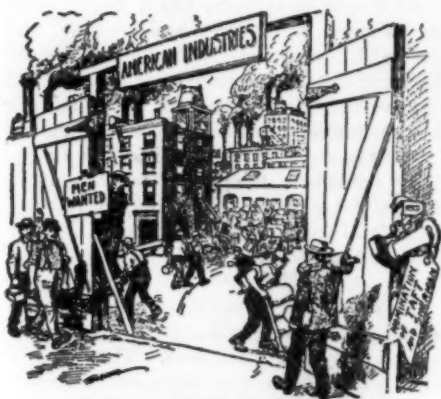
De Mar in the Philadelphia Record.
AN ADVERTISEMENT THAT WOULDN'T STICK.



Bow, in the Salt Lake Herald.
IN PERIL!



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
THE TORCH-BEARER—TOLSTOY.



Thorndike, in the Baltimore American.
CONFIDENCE RESTORED.
 The key that opened another period of prosperity.



Savage, in the Chicago Daily Socialist.
DON'T BE AFRAID, BILL, IT'S QUITE EMPTY,
WE ASSURE YOU!



May, in the Detroit Journal.
THE PRICE OF PEACE.



Wilder, in the Chicago Record-Herald.
THE STANDPAT POLITICIAN—"Tut! Tut! my boy,
have you thought of the effect it would
have on business?"



Oppen, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
HOW CUTE!

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

FULL-ORBED EDUCATION.

SEVERAL years ago, when in conversation with the late Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, the gifted author of *The New Education* and other deeply original and thoughtful volumes, the veteran educator remarked that the slow advance of civilization was chiefly due to the lack of anything like a full-orbed education, and, indeed, to the general neglect on the part of organized society of any well-defined, comprehensive and rational system of culture.

In the first place, he maintained that man's proper development in this sphere of existence demanded physical, mental and moral cultivation, and any educational system that failed in making provisions for this three-fold demand was fundamentally defective and would produce warped and but partially developed specimens of manhood.

Man in his primitive state was as a rule rugged, strong and inured to hardships. His physical body was well developed, but he knew nothing of the deeper joys of life. Indeed, he was ignorant of those things that yield to modern highly-developed man his deepest, purest and most lasting pleasures.

Later, man began to express himself on the intellectual and emotional planes, and the moral sense became more and more developed. In many instances, however, as in Egypt, for example, the priesthood became the custodians of education, and here, as is ever the case when power is given to a class, especially if it holds to dogmatic ideas about subjects upon which in the nature of the case there is bound to be wide divergence of opinion, intellectual development was arrested and art and science were fettered. Dogma, rite and ritual also, as is ever the case, overshadowed ethics, and conformity to religious dogma became of more importance than conduct. Hence moral stagnation supervened.

On the other hand, in lands where mere intellectual training predominated, humanity was warped, and civilization, after a dazzling outburst of apparent glory, rapidly declined, because not nourished by moral idealism which is the well-spring of life for man and civilization.

Greece in the ancient world and America to-day give testimony to the fatal defect of education when the master emphasis is placed on intellectual training. Our schools of to-day have left the religious development and moral culture of the child to church and home. The church has been more concerned with creed, dogma and rite, with denominational aggrandizement and churchly material prosperity, than with the conduct or life of her members. The home has left to church and school the moral development of the young, with the result that material wealth is placed above the sacred rights of childhood, as is seen in the prevalence of child-slavery or work in mine, mill and factory. Money or property rights are placed above the rights of man, which should be of first concern to a state and nation; and immoral business methods, speculation, gambling and obtaining money by indirection and false pretenses, together with the robbing of the millions by watering stock and making the people pay interest or dividends on the water—all these things, as well as many others that might be cited, eloquently attest to the fatal result of neglecting moral development or the education of the conscience side of life.

It is sometimes argued that the school years do not afford time sufficient to educate and develop body, brain and soul. This point we mentioned in our conversation with Professor Buchanan, and he promptly replied: "Ah! it is more difficult to open and shut one finger of your hand than the whole hand; so a three-fold education, by developing all sides of life, prevents over-straining or warping—is, in fact, restful and conducive to healthy and normal growth."

All education should develop the physical man by thorough exercise in certain kinds of practical manual training. Moral or ethical culture should be impressed on the young, but should be entirely divorced from creedal teachings. The Ten Commandments, the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, fundamental truths underlying the ideals of justice, humanity, moral integrity and nobility in conduct, are intimately related to life. They

can be impressed on the plastic mind of the child as easily as the truths of mathematics or the lessons of history.

But leaving out of consideration the vital side of education and coming to consider merely intellectual training, our system, the veteran educator contended, displayed amazing short-sightedness. Indeed, the very meaning of education is often overlooked. We do not seek to draw out or develop the latent greatness of the child so much as to cram his brain with alleged facts, presented usually in a dogmatic manner. Now all educators agree that the child must be taught certain truths, but that teaching should be so conducted as to arouse and stimulate all the faculties of the mind. Dr. Buchanan stated that time and again he had seen bright young children treated in such a way as to blunt their reasoning faculties when the mind was plastic and should have been carefully developed. "Do you suppose you know more than the author of that book?" the teacher has exclaimed when the child sought to question some statement made. Now that child by such treatment was positively injured, and the more sensitive and imaginative he was, the more such treatment tended to mentally cripple him. If, on the other hand, the teacher had replied: "Well, now, let us see who is right. State your objection and we will see if we cannot arrive at the truth," the child

would have been helped and all the other children would have felt that their brains were for thought or for reason, and not merely sponges to absorb what others considered to be the truth.

We should at all times seek to develop the reasoning faculties, stimulate the imagination and stir the deeper emotional side of life in a wholesome and normal way. The child should be taught to see the beauty of goodness and the inevitable moral damage attendant on all infractions of the fundamental ethical verities. He should be shown the beauty, the splendor and the utility of nature in all her varied moods, and led to appreciate the worth of art, of music, of the drama and all those things that wholesomely nourish the imagination and brain of man. In a word, with instruction should go stimulation or the calling out process that would aim to touch and quicken into life every well-spring of potential strength and power.

Until these things and kindred truths are realized, civilization will move forward slowly and from time to time suffer periods of depression, during which the nations and peoples that have been most recreant in regard to the higher demands of life will wither and die, because the sources of the vital fountains of life have been allowed to dry up.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: ITS PLATFORM AND TICKET.

The Roosevelt Convention, in Which "My Policies," The Interests of The People and Genuine Reform were Ruthlessly Slaughtered.

UP TO THE hour of the opening of the Republican Convention no single fact was more insistently harped upon by the administration organs than that the convention was to be a Roosevelt triumph; that in spite of the wicked allies—the Forakers, the Knoxes, the Cannons and others who flaunted their love for predatory wealth more or less offensively, and who were supposed to have opposed Mr. Roosevelt's "my policies" as unnecessary concessions to the sheep-like rank and file of American voters, the President had completely captured the convention; that "my policies" were to triumph—"my policies," it should be remarked in parentheses, being those reform measures which President Roosevelt in season and out of season labeled as his own and which he had more or less openly purloined from the Democrats and the People's party. An overwhelming number of delegates had been chosen representing the administration wing of the party. Such was the cry of President Roosevelt's organs. Yet when the convention assembled and we beheld the Republican delegates in action, the most amazing spectacle was presented to the nation in the delegates kowtowing to privileged wealth and the corrupt bosses at every turn, while they not only insulted organized labor but sounded clear and strong the call to retreat, as we shall presently see.

To the on-looker certain things were very noticeable. First, there was the self-glorification, the turgid, vain boasting that is so marked a characteristic of men and parties drunk with power and who feel secure because of the power they believe to be at their command. The Belshazzar-like self-laudation, however, was even less offensive and no more marked than the note of insincerity struck whenever the issue was between the masters of the Republican party and the people. Thus, for example, the platform opens with a eulogy of President Roosevelt, and the

people are gravely told that their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Surely, after such unequivocal sentiments and others just as pronounced, the convention composed of delegates whom the convention had corraled under the pretext that the various reforms that the President had championed in opposition to the political bosses and the masters of the money-controlled machine, embodied the wishes and interests of the people, will give the marching orders to move resolutely forward.

But no. The perfunctory praise is immediately followed by a glorification of the Republican Congress. Think of it! The President is praised for representing the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen; and Speaker Cannon's House and the Republican Senate, controlled by Aldrich, Lodge, Knox, Penrose, Depew, Platt, Crane and others dear to the plutocracy, which effectively turned down or blocked all the important reforms advocated by the President, who reflected the best aims and worthiest purposes of the country, are also fulsomely praised for keeping "step in the forward march to better government."

In the light of the platform adopted, the permanent chairman chosen for the convention, and the ticket nominated, it is clear that this eulogy of the trust-dominating and people-betraying Congress is as honest as the praise of President Roosevelt was insincere. Never since the era of reaction and monopoly domination reached an openly aggressive stage in the destruction of the old representative character of Congress by Speaker Reed, in order that the once great and powerful deliberative body of representatives might become a registering machine for the masters of the money-controlled political machine acting through the Speaker; never since the aggressive assumption of extra-constitutional power by the judiciary, by which in the interests of corporate wealth the old bulwarks of popular rights and vital freedom of the peo-

ple, the jury, has been practically dispensed with through abuse of the injunction power; and never since the unholy alliance of the Republican national machine with the criminal rich—the great gamblers, high financiers and law-defying railway magnates and heads of the criminal trusts, has the Republican party been so frank in its contempt for popular rights or so open in its reactionary attitude. This was seen in the selection of

Its Permanent Chairman.

In choosing Henry Cabot Lodge, the party fixed upon one of the two great political bosses of Massachusetts who are rivals for the favors of corporate wealth. Senator W. Murray Crane, with his telephone interests and with the railroads so beholden to him, is loved by the corporations because he is so astute, so loyal to the big interests and so unostentatious in doing the will of corporate wealth. But the "interests" have no cause to look with anything less than profound affection on the great machine boss, Henry Cabot Lodge. So jealous has this man been of his power and the interests of privileged wealth that he not only insulted every intelligent man and woman in Massachusetts by brazenly declaring that the Initiative and Referendum would foster mob-rule, but he came to Boston when the Public-Opinion Bill was before the Legislature and with all the power at his command succeeded in getting the legislators to break their solemn ante-election pledges which they had made in writing to the electors—pledges that they would support the Public-Opinion Bill, simply because this corporation-beloved machine boss did not propose even to permit the Massachusetts voters—that is, the sovereigns—to express their wishes on important measures. It was altogether appropriate that the Republican convention which was to strike the white flag and capitulate to the corrupt campaign-contributing corporations, should select the open enemy of free government and the most powerful political boss of New England for its permanent chairman.

Committee on Platform.

Next we come to the platform committee of this so-called Roosevelt convention. Happily, there was on the committee of fifty-three members one honest reformer who believed in placing the interests of the people before those of campaign-contributing corporations.

This man was Congressman Cooper of Wisconsin, a statesman who refused to participate in the conspiracy of his colleagues in their attempt to deceive the people by "keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." He insisted on a few positive unequivocal reforms that were mild and modest enough—reforms that the people clearly desired and which they had a right to confidently expect would be granted by any party whose President had been so loud in promises to the people of relief from the oppressors, corruptors and betrayers. These reforms, although, as we have observed, moderate in character, would yet have shown that the party had not sold its soul and body to the plutocracy for campaign contributions.

Mr. Cooper's few genuine reforms which Senator LaFollette has bravely fought for, were voted down. Fifty-two of the fifty-three members of the committee opposed committing the party even to these moderate and clearly demanded reforms; so the incorruptible statesman brought in a minority report by which it was possible to test the sincerity of the so-called Roosevelt convention. It is not strange that this action created consternation among the delegates who did not dare to betray their real masters and did not wish to go on record as deliberately and palpably wishing to deceive the people. However, Mr. Cooper succeeded in his attempt, with the following result:

The proposed amendment demanding publicity of campaign contributions, a measure clearly in the interests of the people and of clean government, was voted down by more than nine to one, the vote being 880 to 94; yet Mr. Taft had pretended that he wanted such publicity. So had Mr. Roosevelt, and this was the Roosevelt-dominated convention.

Again, Congressman Cooper's platform provision for physical valuation of the railways as a basis for fixing of railway rates—something obviously demanded if honest protection for the producing and consuming millions is to be obtained, received a treatment that as clearly indicated the thorough domination of the Republican party by the railways as it did the brazen hypocrisy of this convention. And yet this proposal, as Mr. Bryan has pointed out, had been advanced by President Roosevelt as something needful for the protection of the people. It was one of the "my policies" which had made friends for the President with America's millions and

made him unpopular with the predatory millionaires. Yet this Roosevelt-dominated convention voted 917 against Congressman Cooper's resolution to only 63 in favor of it—more than fourteen to one.

Another demand made in Mr. Cooper's report was for popular election of United States Senators. This measure is as clearly demanded by the people as it is opposed by the corruptors of government and the oppressors of the people. Five times has the House of Representatives passed a measure providing for this reform by an overwhelming majority. Three of those five times the House was Republican; while almost two-thirds of the states have endorsed the demand. Nobody doubts for a moment that an overwhelming majority of the voters want this reform; yet the Roosevelt-Taft-corporation-controlled convention voted down the reform by 866 to 14.

The treatment of organized labor was quite as marked in its insolent contempt for union toilers as was the convention contemptuous of the people's demand for popular election of United States Senators and their demand for real reform measures that the President had advocated and which Mr. Cooper had incorporated in his report. The committee practically copied the law as it now stands. This was an amazing course under the circumstances, for the President, who is an astute politician, saw the fact that labor had at last become awakened to its deadly peril if the injunction abuse was to continue. He recognized the fact that the leaders of union labor at last understood that if conditions were to continue, organized toil would be bound hand and foot and delivered to the spoilers of toil. President Roosevelt was not alone in appreciating the danger of insulting labor at the present stage. J. P. Morgan saw the peril, so Morgan's handy-man, Perkins, the gentleman of unsavory fame who put his hand into the till of a great insurance company and took out fifty thousand dollars for the Republican campaign, together with the head of the malodorous steel trust that is robbing the American steel consumers by charging from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than the English steel users pay the same trust, joined with the President in striving to get the convention to at least give labor some substantial promises that would quiet it until after election. What the convention did is well described by Mr. Bryan in these words:

"The anti-injunction plank of the Republi-

can platform, as finally adopted, is a transparent fraud.

"The plank reads as follows: 'The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, state and federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in federal court, with respect to the issuance of a writ of injunction, should be more accurately defined by the statute; that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.'

"It will be seen that the plank begins with an unnecessary eulogy of the courts. Nobody is opposed to upholding at all times the authority and integrity of the courts. Nobody is objecting to the enforcement of their processes or to their exercise of their powers to protect life, liberty and property. The plank assumes that somebody is attacking the courts and that the courts are in danger of losing support or of having their powers weakened. There is no attack upon the courts and there is no thought anywhere of interfering with any legitimate function of the court. The Republican convention puts up a man of straw and then proceeds to demolish it; it suspects an unholy assault upon the judiciary and its righteous indignation at once finds expression in a boastful assertion of its innocence of participation in any such suspected assault. This part of the plank was written to give assurance to the people who are opposed to the laboring man's plea. And now let us proceed to that part of the plank which was intended as a sop to the laboring man. It says: 'We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the federal court with respect to the issuance of a writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by the statute.' (Just what that definition shall be is not stated.) 'That no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, *except where irreparable injury would result from delay*, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.' Note the words in italics (*except where irreparable injury would result from delay*), and compare this exception with the federal statute on the subject and you will find that under the law as it now exists the court is not empowered to grant a

temporary restraining order except *'There appears to be danger of irreparable injury from delay.'* It will be seen that the man who wrote the injunction plank copied the statute almost word for word and made the exception as broad as the statute. If the convention had been frank in the statement of its position it would have quoted the present statute and said that it was in favor of enforcing the law *just as it is.* It would have said, 'Whereas, at present, a court or judge may grant a temporary restraining order "if there appears to be danger of irreparable injury from delay," therefore be it resolved that we are opposed to changing it.'

"The men who are responsible for the language of the injunction plank may have fooled the rest of the committee and they may have fooled the convention, but they cannot fool the laboring men or the voters in general. The injunction plank has not even the value of a gold-plated brick for the plating is brass, as well as the interior of the brick."

The platform made it very clear that the Republican party favored revision of tariff by the beneficiaries of the trust campaign-contributors; or, in other words, whatever revision is made will not be in the interests of the people but in the interests of the trusts—in a word, they favor revision by the trusts and for the trusts.

The platform furthermore applauds the passage of the infamous Aldrich-Vreeland Bill that Congress refused to pass until coerced to do so by Speaker Cannon and the whip of Wall Street's high financiers.

Of the trust plank of the platform as a whole Mr. Bryan's observations as expressed in the following reflect the simple truth:

"The trust plank must prove a disappointment to every Republican who has come to understand the iniquity of the trusts. There is no demand for a rigid enforcement of the law; there is no suggestion that the criminal clause—which has not yet brought a trust malefactor within the walls of a penitentiary—should be called into use. The platform says that the law can be strengthened by amendments which will enlarge the supervision of the general government, but these amendments are not mentioned and there is nothing in this plank of the platform that can be appealed to to secure any real improvement in the law. If the President, with all of his strenuousness, has not been able to enforce the criminal law against a single trust, what chance is there of a less strenuous man making

progress with such an anti-trust plank as that inserted in the Republican platform?

"The newspaper men, supported by a message from the President, tried to secure the passage of a law putting wood pulp and print paper on the free list. They not only failed, but the platform makes no mention of this specific reform. If the President and all the Republican newspapers cannot get a specific promise of tariff reduction, what hope is there of tariff reform at the hands of the Republican leaders?

"The platform as written is indubitable proof that the Republican party does not expect to give the country any real reform. The platform is, in fact, a contract, signed and sealed, between the Republican party and the exploiting interests, guaranteeing that nothing shall be done to free the people from graft and extortion; it is an admission that the money to carry on the campaign is to be drawn from the 'system' and that means that the 'system' will be in control after the election. The 'system' is run on business principles and when it puts up its money to carry an election, it is sure to be quite careful about the security taken."

If anything further was needed to show the insincerity and hypocrisy of the Republican party as dominated to-day, we need only point to the fact that all of the promises which they make of reforms, provided the people will elect their ticket, they deliberately refused to enact when the President tried to get them to pass them and when they had an overwhelming majority in both the House and the Senate.

The indictment against the party was admirably condensed in a few words by Hon. Theodore A. Bell at Denver. When referring to their promises, he indicted them for not performing these duties when they had the opportunity to do so. Mr. Bell changed the words "we will" as expressed in the promise of the Republican platform, to "we did not" as showing how the party had been recreant when it had everything its own way and when it was being urged by the President and by a long-suffering people to pass these measures.

"We did not revise the tariff."

"We did not amend the anti-trust laws to secure greater effectiveness in the prosecution of criminal monopolies."

"We did not add a single line to the interstate commerce law, giving the Federal government supervision over the issues of stocks and bonds by inter-state carriers."

"We did not exact a currency measure that would mitigate the evils of a financial panic such as has recently prostrated the country under a Republican administration."

"We did not limit the opportunities for abusing the writ of injunction."

"We did not establish postal savings-banks."

"We did not establish a bureau of mines and mining."

"We did not admit into the Union the territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states."

The dominant note of the convention as expressed in its platform and ticket was subserviency to the feudalism of privileged wealth and an attempt to throw dust in the people's eyes by an amazing display of mendacity in falsely representing the position of the democracy and quite as falsely representing changes that Socialism would inaugurate. At all times there was in evidence that vicious opportunism that subordinates principles to policy and the weal of the people to class interests and party success.

The tremendous enthusiasm exhibited for Senator LaFollette in the twenty-five minutes' applause given him, represents the real aims and aspirations of the rank and file of the Republican party. Unhappily, that once great party of moral ideals is to-day the absolute bond-slave of plutocracy under the complete domination of political bosses and the handy-men of privileged wealth. The national organization is as responsive to Wall-Street high financiers, corporation and trust magnates, which defy laws, plunder the people and corrupt their representatives, as was the judiciary under the Stuarts responsive to the throne.

The Candidates.

We have already quoted the enthusiastic endorsement of Secretary Taft by the *Financial Chronicle*, the most authoritative organ of the "interests" in Wall Street. We have shown how public-service handy-men and political bosses like Cox of Ohio and Lodge of Massachusetts were among the most strenuous and aggressive advocates of Secretary Taft's nomination. His selection was hailed with delight by the *New York World*, the leading daily of the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party, because it would mean the end, according to the *World*, of the Roosevelt régime. It is said that J. P. Morgan, when he heard that Mr. Taft had been nominated,

struck his fist on the desk, exclaiming, "Good! Good!" And well he might thus express his heart-felt delight. More than that, Mr. Morgan's "Good! Good!" echoed the sentiments of the great campaign-contributing, government-corrupting and prostituting high finance and trust magnate circle that has in recent years been silently but rapidly, aggressively and persistently destroying representative government and free institutions. Had Mr. Taft even been suspected of being a sincere reformer, like Senator LaFollette in the Republican party or Mr. Bryan in the Democratic party, the plutocracy that controls the Republican machine would never have turned a cold shoulder to the faithful handy-man of the privileged interests, Speaker Cannon, or to Knox, Foraker, Fairbanks or Cortelyou. No, Mr. Taft is altogether satisfactory to the high financiers, the great Wall-Street gamblers, privileged wealth and the public-service corporation interests. He will talk fair to the people, and Mr. Roosevelt will doubtless promise great things for him. But the plutocracy agrees with Mr. Roosevelt when he says that "Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so"; and they remember Mr. Taft as the injunction Columbus, when he so faithfully served the railway interests while on the bench. They know their man and they also remember how he fought against Direct-Legislation and strove to get the people of Oklahoma to reject their constitution because it placed the power of government in the hands of the people and made the interests of the people paramount rather than the avarice of corporate wealth, and they are quite willing for him to promise fair things.

The tail of the ticket is a further concession to the plutocracy and the money-controlled machine. Mr. Sherman is a New York machine politician. Little more need be said, beyond the fact that he is a reactionary in complete accord with the corporations and trusts. Indeed, he is one of the fraternity.

Taft and Sherman will have all the money the corporations believe necessary to elect them. But is this a year when money can carry an election? We think the Republicans have misread the signs of the times. The people are tired of broken promises, trust extortion and law-defiance on the part of the criminal rich, and of the steady aggressions in the direction of bureaucratic oppression and judicial usurpation in the interests of privileged wealth and class desires.

THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY: ITS PLATFORM AND NOMINEES, ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS.

The Platform of The Independence Party.

THE MOST important political event of the closing week of July was the National Convention of the Independence party, held in Chicago, at which a splendid platform was adopted and an exceptionally excellent ticket nominated. The platform is, in our judgment, far superior to that of either the Republican or Democratic parties. It declares unequivocally for popular rule through Direct-Legislation and Right of Recall, and on most other vital issues that are immediately concerned in the present battle between democracy or popular government and class-rule or government by political bosses directed by special-privileged interests, it rings clear and true. Only on the question of public-ownership it is more halting and shiftier than we could wish.

The following abstracts of leading demands will show how perfectly it voices the social, political and economic demands which THE ARENA has contended for for almost twenty years.

The platform opens with the following preliminary utterance:

"At a period of unexampled national prosperity and promise, a staggering blow was dealt to legitimate business by the unmolested practice of stock-watering and dishonest financiering. Multitudes of defenseless investors, thousands of honest business men and an army of idle workmen are paying the penalty. Year by year, fostered by wasteful and reckless governmental extravagance, by the manipulation of trusts and by a privilege-creating tariff, the cost of living mounts higher and higher. Day by day the control of the government drifts further away from the people and more firmly into the grip of machine politicians and party bosses.

"Our object is not to introduce violent innovations or starting new theories. We of the Independence party look back as Lincoln did, to the Declaration of Independence as the fountain-head of all political inspiration. It is not our purpose to attempt to revolutionize the American system of government, but to restore the action of the government to the

principles of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln.

"It is not our purpose either to effect a radical change in the American system of government, but to conserve for the citizens of the United States their privileges and liberties, won for them by the founders of this government, and to perpetuate the principles and policies upon which the nation's greatness has been built.

"The Independence party is, therefore, a conservative force in American politics, devoted to the preservation of American liberty and independence, to honesty in elections, to opportunity in business and to equality before the law.

"Those who believe in the Independence party and work with it are convinced that a genuine democracy should exist; that a true republican form of government should continue, that the power of government should rest with the majority of the people and that the government should be conducted for the benefit of the whole citizenship rather than for the special advantages of any particular class.

Direct Legislation and Recall Demanded.

"As of first importance, in order to restore the power of government to the people, to make their will supreme in the primaries, in the elections and in the control of public officials after they have been elected, we declare for direct nominations, the Initiative and Referendum and the Right to Recall.

"It is idle to cry out against the evil of bossism while we perpetuate a system under which the boss is inevitable. The destruction of the individual boss is of little value. The people in their politics must establish a system which will eliminate not only an objectionable boss, but the system of bossism.

"Representative government is made a mockery by the system of modern party convention, dominated by bosses and controlled by cliques. We demand the natural remedy of direct nominations, by which the people not only elect, but, which is far more important, select their representatives.

"We believe in the principles of Initiative and Referendum. We particularly demand that no franchise grant go into operation until

terms and conditions have been approved by popular vote in the locality interested.

"We demand for the people the right to recall public officials in the public service. The power to make public office resides in the people, and in them also should reside the power to make and remove from office any official who demonstrates his unfitness or betrays the public trust.

Corrupt Practice Act Demanded.

"Of next importance in destroying the power of selfish special interests and the corrupt political bosses whom they control is to wrest from their hands their main weapon, the corruption fund. We demand severe and effective legislation against forms of corrupt practices at elections and advocate prohibiting the use of any money at elections except for meetings, literature and the necessary traveling expense of candidates.

Prohibition of Stock-Watering and Other Corporate Frauds.

"Modern industrial conditions make the corporation and stock company a necessity, but over-capitalization in corporations is as harmful and criminal as is personal dishonesty in an individual.

"Compelling the payment of dividends upon great sums that have never been invested, upon masses of watered stock not justified by the property, over-capitalization prevents the better wages, the better public service and the lower cost that should result from American inventive genius and that wide organization which is replacing costly individual competition.

"The collapse of dishonestly inflated enterprises robs investors, closes banks, destroys confidence and engenders panics. The Independence party advocates as a primary necessity for sounder business conditions and improved public service the enactment of laws, state and national, to prevent watering of stocks, dishonest issues of bonds and other forms of corporate frauds.

Abuse of Injunction Denounced.

"The Independence party condemns the arbitrary use of the writ of injunction and contempt proceedings as a violation of the fundamental American right of trial by jury.

"From the foundation of our government down to 1872 the Federal judiciary act prohibited the issue of any injunction without

reasonable notice until after a hearing. We assert that in all actions growing out of a dispute between employers and employes concerning terms or conditions of employment, no injunction should issue until after a trial upon the merits, that such trial should be had before a jury, and that in no case of alleged contempt should any person be deprived of liberty without a trial by jury.

Eight-Hour Law Commended.

"The Independence party believes that the distribution of wealth is as important as the creation of wealth, and indorses those organizations among farmers and workers which tend to bring about a just distribution of wealth through good wages for workers and good prices for farmers and which protect the employer and the consumer through equality of price for labor and for product.

"We indorse the eight-hour day, favor its application to all government employes and demand the enactment of laws requiring that all work done for the government, whether Federal or state, and whether done directly or indirectly through contractors or sub-contractors, shall be done on an eight-hour basis.

Protection for Labor.

"We favor the enactment of a law condemning as illegal any combination or conspiracy to blacklist employes.

"We demand protection for workmen through enforced use of standard safety appliances and provision of hygienic conditions in the operation of factories, railways, mills and mines and all industrial undertakings.

"We advocate state and Federal inspection of railways to secure greater safety for railway employes and for the traveling public.

Abolition of Child Labor Demanded.

"We call for the enactment of stringent laws fixing employers' liabilities and a rigid prohibition of child-labor through coöperation between the state governments and the national government.

"We condemn the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods in the open market in competition with free-labor-manufactured goods. We demand that convicts be employed direct by the different states in the manufacture of products for use in state institutions and in making good roads, and in no case shall convicts be hired out to contractors or sub-contractors.

Money Should be Issued by The Government.

"We declare that the right to issue money is inherent in the government, and demand that any further necessary issue of currency shall be full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Tariff Revision Should be by The Friends of The People, and Not by Servants of The Trusts.

"We demand a revision of the tariff not by the friends of the tariff, but by the friends of the people, and declare for a gradual reduction of tariff duties with just consideration for the rights of the consuming public and of established industry. There should be no protection for oppressive trusts which sell cheaply abroad and take advantage of the tariff at home to crush competition, raise prices, control production and limit work and wages.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities.

"We advocate the extension of the principle of public-ownership for public utilities, including railroads, as rapidly as municipal, state or national government shall demonstrate ability to conduct public utilities for the public benefit. We favor specifically government ownership of the telegraph companies, such as prevails in every other civilized country in the world, and demand as an immediate measure that the government shall purchase and operate the telegraphs in connection with the postal service.

Parcels-Post and Postals Savings Banks Demanded.

"The parcels-post system should be rapidly and widely extended, and government postal savings-banks should be established where the people's deposits will be sure, the money to be loaned to the people in the locality of the several banks and at a rate of interest to be fixed by the government.

"We favor the immediate development of a national system of good roads connecting all states and national aid to states in the construction and maintenance of post-roads.

"We favor a court review of the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the Post-Office Department.

"We advocate such legislation, both state and national, as will suppress the bucket-shop and prohibit the fictitious selling of farm products for future delivery.

Election of United States Senators by Popular Vote Demanded.

"We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both state and Federal, and favor a graduated income tax and any constitutional amendments necessary to these ends.

"Equality and opportunity, the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with equal rights, the overthrow of the rule of special interest and the restoration of government by the majority exercised for the benefit of the whole community—these are the purposes to which the Independence party is pledged, and we invite the coöperation of all patriotic and all progressive citizens, irrespective of party, who are in sympathy with these principles and in favor of their practical enforcement."

The Candidates.

In Mr. Thomas Hisgen the Independence party has selected a splendid type of the American business man uncontaminated by the virus of modern high finance or the low ethical idealist that has come in with the domination of the commercial feudalism. Mr. Hisgen represents the rugged honesty and sincerity that characterized Abraham Lincoln. He is a man of the people and a lover of the people. When last year he ran for Governor of Massachusetts, he made a splendid impression on those who heard him. So good, indeed, was this impression that he polled more votes than the Democratic candidate who was supported by the state and municipal organizations, the party press and who was himself a man of great wealth and influence, extremely anxious to be vindicated at the polls.

The candidate for the Vice-Presidency is a man of ability, and in so far as we have been able to ascertain, of excellent record.

The Strength of The Party.

The strength of the party is found chiefly in the splendid manner in which the aspirations of the genuine or progressive popular sentiment of the nation is reflected in most of the cardinal planks. No man knows better than Mr. Hearst and his corps of editors what the people more or less clearly are seeking in order to save the Republic from the double bondage and degradation of monopoly or corporation servitude and boss and machine rule. They realize that the first great demand of the hour is to get the government back to the people, and that this can only be perfectly and peace-

fully effected through Direct-Legislation and the Recall. They know that the corporations will oppress the people and corrupt their servants so long as the public utilities are in private hands. They know that so long as the bench is so largely filled by men who have long been master counselors for corporations in their battle against the people and labor, the bench will frequently be biased, even when the judges intentionally desire to be fair; because through years of service in the corporations, service which has proved immensely lucrative and during which time they have looked constantly through the spectacles of their employers, they have come naturally to see things from a different view-point than would be the case had they been entirely impartial spectators. Therefore the interests of the people and of labor demand that no abuse of the injunction power or denial of jury rights shall be permitted.

And so on these and other vital political economic and social demands the Independence party for the most part evinces wise statesmanship in its demands—a statesmanship in perfect alignment with the aspirations of the people and the demands of the hour. Herein lies the great element of strength of the new party.

Its Weakness.

Friends of fundamental democracy who heartily sympathize with almost all the platform of the Independence party will regret that Mr. Hearst did not make his stand and fight his battle four years ago, when the Democratic party was in the hands of the plutocracy and the principles of popular rule and of progressive democracy for which Mr. Bryan has so splendidly battled were under eclipse. Then, if Mr. Hearst had sounded his slogan and called upon progressive Democrats to rally to the support of the principles enunciated in the platform of the Independence party at Chicago, a mighty vote would have been polled that went to Theodore Roosevelt because genuine Democrats were determined to rebuke the recreant party. But Mr. Hearst waited until after the Democratic party had turned to its most popular and progressive leader. Spurning alike the gold and seductive lures of the reactionaries and ignoring the frantic cries of the corporation press, they set their faces steadfastly toward the morning.

On the vital issue of popular *versus* corporation rule and other important questions, the

battle between the Republican and Democratic parties is clear-cut; and with Mr. Bryan, an upholder of Direct-Legislation and one of the most honest, clean and nobly idealistic of leaders, it was perfectly clear that victory would mean the turning of the nation from the false gods of reaction, militarism, boss-rule and corporation domination, to the old ideal of a clean government, a just government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It would at once check the Russianizing of America that has advanced so rapidly since Wall street and campaign-contributing wealth became the master power in government.

The victory of progressive democracy under Mr. Bryan would mean the triumph of the people over privilege, the first great and positive stride toward a genuinely progressive, just and popular government since the dawn of the corporation era.

Now, when the nation is facing a crisis like the present, when the supreme issue is vital and fundamental in character—that of popular rule *versus* corporation rule, government by the people or government by privileged interests, it is a very serious thing for a man of wealth and influence, like Mr. Hearst, to launch a movement that, in the proportion that it succeeds, will increase the prospects for success for the party of the trusts and corporations, the party of the Wall-Street panic-makers, the party of Aldrich and Cannon, of Morgan and Harriman, of Root and Taft, of Lodge and Depew, of Platt and Crane. In proportion as Mr. Hearst is able to win votes, he will strengthen the hands of the party of predatory wealth and privilege, which he has fought for so many years, by increasing its representation in Congress and in state legislatures while aiding the prospects of Mr. Taft.

For this reason hundreds of thousands of sincere friends of the cardinal planks of the Independence platform will deeply regret that Mr. Hearst throws his influence so as indirectly to aid in entrenching predatory wealth and corporation domination in this most critical hour in the history of the Republic—in an hour when of all times he should have stood shoulder to shoulder with the friends of popular rule and democratic principles against the common enemy.

His failure in this testing hour, however, is by no means the first time Mr. Hearst has deserted the fight for popular rights and free

government in the heat of the battle or at a time when his whole-hearted aid would have meant victory. Though it is probable he does not realize it, the greatest handicap that Mr. Hearst has had to contend with in his ambition to secure prominent public office, has been the deep-seated distrust of a large number of those most sincere and incorruptible reformers whose loyal support is essential to the victory of any man who essays to lead the liberal forces—a distrust born of his action in crucial moments. The successful leader of progressive democracy must be above all else a moral idealist, a man who in his heart believes it better to be right than to be President. He must be transparently sincere, earnest, and loyal to principles, ready to sink self for the good of the cause; not merely ready to say he wishes to sink self, but to do this without the protesting. If he fails at this crucial point and fails so obviously and frequently as to become conspicuous, he cannot hope for success, for he loses the element of strength that must be the invincible guard of the progressive leader.

Now thousands upon thousands of progressive Democrats who had come to greatly admire Mr. Hearst and hoped in him to find a dependable leader, were rudely awakened when in the midst of the Henry George campaign, after he had aggressively and magnificently fought for Mr. George during the forlorn hours, or before his candidacy had become so commanding as to terrify Tammany, his paper suddenly deserted the great tribune of the people. Seldom have the political reformers of America been more shocked or amazed than they were when on the morning of the night when Mr. George was stricken, Mr. Hearst's paper published a shameful article on him, by one of its leading special reporters. The sudden desertion of Mr. George in the midst of as vital and gallant a municipal battle as was ever fought could not fail to gravely shake the faith of those who had wished to believe in Mr. Hearst's single-hearted loyalty to the cause of just and good government.

But this was but the first of a series of episodes and happenings that have time and again confirmed this distrust. The case of Franklin Lane is but one of several that might be cited. Mr. Lane was one of the most aggressive champions of clean government and fundamental democracy on the Pacific coast. He was immensely popular with the better ele-

ment of the labor party, thoroughly acceptable to the fundamental or progressive Democrats and the one who stood a splendid chance of victory in the race for Governor of California. He received the nomination and had he been aggressively and loyally supported by the Hearst papers there is little doubt but what he would have been triumphantly elected, judging from the enormous vote he polled in spite of their failure at this crucial moment.

It is not necessary to enumerate other instances of this character which might be cited when dwelling on this chief element of weakness which the Independence party will have to contend against.

Another element of weakness is the autocratic spirit manifested, which not only refused to show any hospitality to freedom of thought but also mercilessly denounced those who differed from Mr. Hearst's position in regard to the wisdom of launching the party at a time when it would prove an ally to the party of the trusts, militarism and reaction. This spirit of autocracy and intolerance of free speech was painfully manifested in the reception of Judge Seabury's attempt to have the party consider the wisdom of indorsing Mr. Bryan. There is or was not, we venture to say, in the Independence party a more loyal or able defender of public-ownership, a more loyal or efficient champion of popular rule and all the best planks of the Independence party, than Judge Seabury. He certainly was entitled to a hearing, and if the party was overwhelmingly in favor of cutting away from the progressive democracy, it would have been perfectly safe to have listened to him, to Mr. Shepherd, or any other delegate who might have wished to express his views, after which all that would have been necessary would have been for the party to have voted down the propositions. But to denounce Judge Seabury as a traitor and to impugn his motives in a most shameful manner, as did Mr. Hearst's papers, was certainly the reverse of exhibiting the spirit of freedom, justice or democracy.

This desertion of the party when the friends of progress and reform are in the saddle, and this spirit of autocracy, are two of the chief elements of weakness with which the party will have to contend.

Personally we, in company with thousands of other sincere upholders of fundamental democracy and just government, feel the deepest regret that Mr. Hearst should have selected this hour to desert democracy, when the only

possible immediate result, if he is able to do what he hopes to do, will be to defeat Mr. Bryan and progressive democracy, and entrench the candidate of the reactionary Wall-Street, corporation-controlled Republican machine, thus fastening on the people four more years of plunder by trusts, of Wall-Street and corporation aggrandizement and of reactionary, unrepublican and imperialistic rule.

It is extremely unpleasant for us to feel compelled to make this criticism, for we fully appreciate the very important work which the editorial pages of Mr. Hearst's papers have achieved in awakening the nation to a realization of the giant evils of the hour and in point-

ing out the way of genuine progress. Had Mr. Hearst, when he saw how completely the Ryan-Belmont element was routed by the awakened progressive democracy; how absolutely futile had been all the efforts of money, of powerful papers, of boss and machine, to make the party again an annex of the Republican organization; had he, when he saw the line of battle sharply drawn between popular rule and the rule of corporations, political bosses and money-controlled machines, loyally supported the party until after the election, he would have rendered a great service to the cause of popular rule and the general good at a most critical moment in our history.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT OR CLASS-RULE: THE VITAL ISSUE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN.

THE SUPREME question that confronts the American people in the present great political contest was admirably stated in the following declaration which constitutes two of the introductory paragraphs of the National Democratic Platform adopted at the Denver Convention:

"The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations; it must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim of 'equal rights to all and special privileges to none.'

"'Shall the people rule?' is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion."

The views thus admirably enunciated were further emphasized by Mr. Bryan in an address delivered to the members of the Nebraska Traveling Men's Association on July 11th, in which he said:

"For a quarter of a century the country has been seeing more and more corporate domination in politics; for a quarter of a century the country has witnessed campaign after campaign in which great predatory interests would secretly contribute enormous sums to debauch elections and then control the government in return for contributions. Our convention marks a new era in American politics.

"Now, we are going out to appeal to this awakened conscience and give to the country assurance that if our party is intrusted with power we shall make this government again a people's government, in which government officials will respond promptly to the sentiment of the whole people; and our platform has given us a slogan that every one of you can echo and that I believe that a majority of the American people will echo, 'Let the people rule.'"

The present conflict is one of the most momentous, if not indeed the most momentous electoral struggle since the foundation of our nation, because it is at heart a battle for the vital principles that differentiate a democratic republic from class-rule. Epitomized, the struggle may be stated as privilege *versus* the people. It is a life and death struggle between the corporations, trusts and high financiers, or the feudalism of privileged wealth, and the people.

Of late years the great oligarchy of favored classes, embracing the trusts, public-service corporations and the high financiers of Wall Street, have come to regard the Republic as their special preserve, and the people as a valuable asset to be taxed and exploited at every turn. Any attempt to curb lawless wealth or shackle the inordinate greed of these classes is immediately attacked as "dangerous radicalism."

The Democratic platform is certainly mod-

erate in tone and a most reasonable demand for equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people; yet mild and reasonable as is that platform, we find Mr. G. R. Sheldon, the banker treasurer of the Republican campaign funds, declaring that, "The American people will never accept the radicalism of the Democratic convention." And Mr. George Harvey, of *Harper's Weekly*, the well-known handyman of J. Pierpont Morgan, at last throws off the mask of the plutocratic Democrats and utters the voice of Wall Street in a telegram to the *New York World*, published on July 11, in which he says: "The Democrats of the country will now resume their accustomed occupation of electing a Republican President, this time by the largest majority known since Grant ran away from Greeley." This brazen assumption that the Democratic party consists of the privilege-seeking, people-oppressing high financiers and corporation chiefs, is only less offensive than the assumption that the vast corruption fund which the Wall-Street high financiers proposed to raise will result in an enormous majority for Mr. Taft. Both the utterances of Sheldon and Harvey, however, are of special interest as voicing the views of the masters of the modern feudalism of privileged wealth which is seeking to overthrow the Republic and which hopes to consummate the work already begun, by the election of Mr. Taft, a candidate wholly satisfactory to the "interests."

The struggle that is pending is preëminently a struggle in which money is to be pitted against manhood. The bosses, the money-controlled machines and the plutocracy are arrayed against popular rule and the fundamental principles of free government. Though there may be some bosses and some representatives of predatory wealth who will through selfish motives pretend to support the Democratic ticket, their support will be as perfunctory as the corporation and boss support of Mr. Taft will be whole-souled and enthusiastic; because platform and ticket and the present master spirits of the Democratic party represent unyielding antagonism to the reign of corruption, popular betrayal and class-rule which has debauched the nation and rendered possible the long-continued and steadily growing plunder of the people by the trusts and corporations.

The tickets named are ideal reflectors of

the two master elements in the battle of reaction and class interests against popular rule or government of the people, by the people and for the people.

On the one hand, we have William H. Taft, the imperialist and eulogist of the Czar of Russia, the man who called forth from organized labor the nickname of "Injunction Bill" because he became a Columbus of capitalism when the railways were fighting the organized workers and Mr. Taft was on the bench. Then, it will be remembered, he read a meaning into the Interstate Commerce Law not hitherto supposed to have been there, and by so doing won the everlasting gratitude and sure support of the great public-service corporations of the country. Later Mr. Taft again showed his hostility to popular rule and his loyalty to the machine bosses and corporation chiefs, when he went to Oklahoma and did all in his power to induce the people to repudiate their constitution, drafted so as to give the voters the absolute control of the government through the initiative and referendum. Mr. Taft, who in Chicago was so zealously supported by the notorious Boss Cox and other bosses and corporation handymen, most admirably represents the party of imperialism, reaction and predatory wealth; while on the other hand, Mr. Bryan has long stood for the supremacy of popular rule and for the fundamental principles of free government. From first to last he has lived up to the noble motto of Henry Clay: "I would rather be right than be President." There can be little doubt but what, had he been an opportunist politician he might easily have won the Presidency ere this. He believes in the initiative and referendum; in popular sovereignty, equal opportunities for all and special privileges for none. He is the champion of pure government and he is opposed to the march of militarism, bureaucracy and official autocratic usurpation of power, that has already placed the Republic in deadly peril. His election will mean a renaissance of popular government, the elevation of the people to the place of first importance, just as the concern of the public-service corporations, of the monopolies, trusts and Wall-Street bankers has in recent years been first in the consideration of the government. His election will prove a great moral victory, a victory for peace, for progress and human rights.

WHY THE GREAT MIDDLE WEST IS AFLAME WITH ENTHUSIASM FOR THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

THE Springfield *Republican* points out the fact that the Republican platform and nominees are eliciting no enthusiasm in the Middle West. Indeed, it states that, "A Republican cold fit is reported in the Middle West, where there is an entire absence of enthusiasm over the Chicago platform and the Republican candidate for Vice-President. Mr. Sherman's nomination," it continues, "created disgust in some quarters, owing to his close identification with Speaker Cannon's obstruction policy in the recent session of Congress and his presumed sympathy with the Wall-Street view of our politics. The platform, from the Western point of view, is weak not only in its various straddles but in its more vital omissions.

"J. P. Morgan's cry of 'Good! Good!' when he first heard of Mr. Taft's nomination, was a sign to the radical Republican element in the Mississippi valley that Wall Street is satisfied with the Republican ticket. All such indications serve to intensify the Western cold fit, for the West's mental attitude toward Eastern financial interests is more critical and unsympathetic than it was twelve years ago."

On the other hand, the West is aflame with enthusiasm for the Democratic platform and ticket, and one of the chief causes for this enthusiasm is the firm conviction on the part of the people that Secretary Taft represents

reaction and the rule of the corporations through the political machine and the boss. This idea was splendidly enunciated by Senator Gore of Oklahoma in his notable utterance which elicited the one hour and twenty-seven minutes of applause given to Mr. Bryan. On that occasion the blind Senator said:

"The war chief came to Oklahoma and asked us to do what no Anglo-Saxon community ever has done—reject a chance to obtain self-government. Then the greatest living exponent of human freedom came to us and told us to adopt our constitution, and by a majority of 100,000 votes we rejected the advice of Taft and took the advice of Bryan."

This was the utterance that called forth the most remarkable tribute of popularity ever shown a candidate in a political convention. The applause elicited was doubtless largely due to the realization on the part of the people present that the Senator had in a word summed up the most vital issue before the American people and had in a single illustration shown the temper of the two opposing candidates in regard to the great issue, Shall the people rule, or shall political bosses and money-controlled machines dominate the government in the interest of the corporations?

This is the great question to be settled at the November election.]

THE RAISE IN THE PRICE OF BEEF AND ITS PROBABLE RELATION TO THE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

IF CONGRESS had passed a law compelling all corporations and corporation chiefs, as well as the treasurers and chairmen of national, state and county political organizations, to make sworn affidavits of all contributions made and accepted, it is possible that the American people might become possessed of the true reason for the enormous recent raise in the price of meats made by the beef trust. It has long been the practice of the robber monopolies and trusts, either before or after election, to raise the price of the articles con-

trolled by the privileged monopolies, so that the trusts or corporations given protection by the people's betrayers are able to recoup themselves for campaign expenditures with a princely surplus added as a result of their arbitrary tax on the wealth-producers and consumers.

No trust, with the possible exception of the Standard Oil Company and the coal combine, has been so brazenly frank in its extortion as the beef trust, and the recent enormous raise in the price of meat that had previously

been pushed to a point so high that in all probability there is not another people among the civilized nations of the globe that would have submitted to the extortion practiced, because out of all proportion to any and all the alleged reasons for the raise, is an outrage as indefensible as it is burdensome to the people. It is one of many recent exhibitions of the insolent arrogance of the trusts and monopolies whose master spirits believe that their ownership of the Republican party has rendered them invincible and made it perfectly safe for them to practice robbery of the people in a most high-handed manner, even in the face of a political campaign.

That the present raise is for the purpose of plundering the American people of millions of dollars and enabling the conscienceless trust to be liberal to its numerous handy-men, its mouthpieces, its servants in government and the party on which it depends to continue its plunder of the millions, there can be no reasonable doubt. True, in all probability it will only be necessary for a small amount of the money thus wrung from the people through this latest extortion to be turned over for the election of the people's betrayers to seats of power in government; and the money that will be turned over to the Republican campaign committee and for the election of the trust's agents all over the country will doubtless be contributed in such a manner as to fail to reveal the fact that the trust is furnishing anything like the amount of money which it will furnish. For since the days when Boss Tweed allowed his self-confidence to make him imprudent so that he and his confederates did not cover up their tracks and through failure to do this were overtaken by justice, the astute lawyers who receive princely fortunes from the monopolies to tell them how to do things, have been very careful as a rule to have the tracks of the moral criminals covered. It is only after the wrongs, the crimes and the evils have been perpetrated that facts are liable to leak out, as was the case with the Harriman corruption fund, the fifty thousand dollars taken by Perkins from the money of the insurance companies for the election of the Republican candidate, and other similar acts which reveal the riot of corrupt practices that has marked the march of the Republican party since the ascendancy of Mark Hanna and the union of the corporations with the political machine for the conquest and exploitation of the people.

In this connection it is well for the voters to remember certain facts in regard to Speaker Cannon and the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives. As the beef trust remembers its friends, as it most surely will, during the present campaign, the people should be equally determined to remember their betrayers. The relegation of a few of the most odious handy-men of the trusts and law-defying corporations to private life by overwhelming popular verdicts, will do very much to bring back the government to the people and break the power of the special privileged classes, the great corporations and high financiers who pose as the representatives of good government and who assume that any friend of popular rule or the interests of the people is a would-be destroyer of government.

But to return to the beef trust and Speaker Cannon's service to that conscienceless organized appetite. It will be remembered that Senator Beveridge's rider provided that the beef trust should pay three million dollars a year, which the investigations instituted by President Roosevelt had proved to be absolutely necessary in order to guard the people from the great poison trust or protect the consumers of meat from a trust which had been feeding the people on diseased and spoiled meat, adulterated and drugged articles, often prepared under filthy conditions. There were other provisions in this measure that were objectionable to the trust, because aimed at protecting the people. Hence, according to the press dispatches, Senator Hopkins and others of the Senate interested in the beef trust, strove to induce President Roosevelt to agree to such modifications as the trust desired. But the President was at outs with the Senate at that time and he held an effective club in his hand—the report of his commissioners. He had only published the preliminary report describing their own observations of the filthy and unsanitary condition of the meat establishments, while their extended report confirming the charges made by Mr. Sinclair was withheld, it being claimed that its publication would ruin the meat trust's business abroad. The President, according to the press dispatches, declared that unless the Senate passed the rider as Senator Beveridge introduced it, he would publish to the world the full report of his commissioners—something which the people had a right to expect done. Consequently the bill went through the Senate precisely as drawn. When

it came to the House, however, Speaker Cannon, the real autocrat of the House, did not propose to desert his friends of the beef trust. The press dispatches declared that he and others called upon the President and insisted on the modifications of the measure as desired by the beef trust. It was pointed out that the three million dollars should be paid by the government and not by the trust, because if paid by the trust the latter would immediately raise the price of meat and recoup itself from this raise. The trust, as subsequent events showed, had fully determined to raise the price of meat all that the public would possibly stand, but it did not propose that the three million dollars necessary to prevent the people from being poisoned with diseased and spoiled meat should be taken from the enormous profits which it determined to appropriate to itself for the inconvenience and humiliation of the exposures of its infamous moral criminality. The President, who had been brave as a lion in forcing the measure through with the threat of publication of the report, when the hostile Senate was opposing the measure, now suddenly became mild as a cooing dove and the trust's

modifications, including the saddling of three million dollars on the taxpayers of America, were agreed to and passed by the House, the Senate concurring.

And now in the face of a great election, with the people already aroused because of continued robbery and extortion on the part of the various trusts that control life necessities, it is vitally important for the Republican party that an enormous campaign fund should be raised in order to defeat the will and the interests of the people and to entrench once and for all firmly in all departments of government the servants of the reactionary, undemocratic feudalism of privileged wealth and class-rule. Hence we have the spectacle of the beef trust, confident in the belief that money can again thwart the will of the people, levying an additional arbitrary tax upon the American people that in the aggregate will net to the trust a fabulous sum.

The only immediate hope for the American people at the present crisis is a positive demonstration that American manhood cannot be debauched or seduced by the lavish use of corrupt wealth for the enslavement and impoverishment of the millions.

TRUST ROBBERY AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE POSITION of the Democratic party, both in Congress and in its convention, as well as in the position long maintained by Mr. Bryan, has been honest, frank and unequivocal in regard to the necessity of absolute frankness and publicity concerning all campaign contributions. No greater scandal has been connected with the government in recent years than that of the conspiracy on the part of the campaign managers and the great privileged interests, by which vast corruption funds have been raised and secretly used for the election of persons who were pledged to measures inimical to public interest and so opposed to the wishes of the people that had the electors dreamed that the parties in question, the "practical" men like Harriman, Perkins, etc., were contributing large sums, the result of the election would have been the reverse of what it was.

The position of the Republican Convention and of the Republican party in convention has

been as dishonest and equivocal as that of the Democratic party has been frank and honest; while the stand taken by Treasurer Sheldon and Candidate Taft in their effort to throw dust in the eyes of the people only adds the offense of hypocrisy to the offensive position taken by their party. On this subject the *Boston Post* of July 14th contained an editorial which we reproduce below and which merits the widest circulation because it contains facts essential for the voters to bear in mind.

"The Republican party refuses any publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures. By the Republican Congress it has been refused; the Republican national convention has refused it.

"The party which placed William H. Taft in nomination has declared its purpose to keep in concealment as heretofore the process of 'frying the fat' out of corporations and monopolistic interests favored by the Republican tariff and Republican legislation.

"Now comes Candidate Taft and now comes Treasurer Sheldon to say that, while recognizing the mandate of their party as to the campaign, they will yet make public the results of the customary fat-frying—after election!

"This is paltering with a very serious matter. It is an evasion utterly unworthy of William H. Taft and to which he cannot consent without sacrificing the esteem in which his personal character is held by the American people.

"The scandal of 1904 is too fresh in mind. This was not disclosed until after election. Had the corruption fund furnished by Harri-man and the infamous gang in control of the funds of the New York life insurance companies been made public before election, a

righteous popular indignation would have swept the state of New York against Cortel-you's candidate. This secrecy elected Theodore Roosevelt.

"Does Mr. Taft expect to be elected by similar corrupt influences brought to bear before the election, and to escape accountability by filing a schedule—according to the New York law—after election?

"Mr. Taft is a practical man, as Mr. Roosevelt has certified that he and Mr. Harri-man were practical men. But practical men may practice once too often upon the good will and the credulity of the American people. And this seems to be what the Republican candidate and his treasurer have set out to do in their offer to make public the sources of their campaign funds—after election."

TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY.

THE June election in Oregon was the most significant political event of the year—an event of incalculable value to the cause of popular government and civic purity. It conclusively proved that the objections that the corporation press, the political bosses and the law-defying public-service companies have advanced against popular government under the initiative and referendum, are without the shadow of foundation.

It had been claimed that while Direct-Legislation might destroy the sinister influence of corrupt lobbies and put the corrupt political bosses out of commission, it would prove ineffective because the people could not and would not vote so discriminatingly as the legislators, and that as a matter of fact comparatively few voters would take the trouble to investigate the merits of the questions involved. The result would be that they would not take the trouble to vote at all on the issues, or they would vote without discrimination.

The friends of the Initiative and Referendum urged that wherever practical and easily workable measures had been enacted, the good and practical results following had exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the believers in popular or democratic government. They insisted that De Tocqueville was correct in his observation that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy;"

that the evils which were so glaringly apparent in our government were due to a defeat of democratic conditions, to the rise of a despotic and unrepresentative government in which the form of oppression and despotism appeared under the rule of corporate or privileged wealth operating through political bosses and money-controlled machines; that if once the people were given the chance to right the wrongs, they would take an intelligent interest in government and would see to it that corruption in public rule and plunder of the people should cease. True, they might prove conservative and move slowly, because the rank and file of a nation, save in hours when exasperated to the limit of endurance by oppression and wrong, are always conservative; but the heart of the people, the friends of democracy claimed, was morally sound, and if the ignorant, who did not comprehend the nature or necessity of the measures, refused to vote on proposed acts they would disfranchise themselves for the good of the government. Moreover, it was pointed out that the Initiative and Referendum was merely the practicable, workable tools of popular government which rendered possible a genuine and truly representative government under conditions such as prevailed in America to-day. Moreover, it was shown that in Switzerland, since Direct-Legislation had been introduced, the

people had held on to popular and good officials, even when on some questions they had opposed the public will, because the voters realized that they had in their own hands the means of remedying any injurious legislation.

Now the Oregon election has splendidly vindicated the claims of friends of popular rule and has utterly discredited the corporation journals. Nineteen measures were voted on, several of which were defeated, while others were emphatically endorsed; and the fact that the people showed a clearly defined interest in the various measures was one of the impressive facts established by the vote.

Shortly after the election we received a communication from Mr. H. Denlinger of Portland, Oregon, relative to the result, from which we extract the following:

"I am sending for your inspection a sample ballot of our last election occurring a few days ago, showing the vote of the people of this state upon nineteen measures which were submitted to them. The figures are approximately correct. I think it is a complete refutation of the assertion that the people will not vote with intelligence and discrimination. This ballot speaks for itself. You will notice among other things that a graft measure proposed by the legislature to increase their pay was voted down by 50,000. Also bill to increase the number of Supreme judges. A compulsory pass bill is lost by nearly two to one, and woman's suffrage is voted down hard. Also bill in the nature of the Single Tax. A bill in favor of pool-rooms, sporting places, etc. (got up in the interest of the bad element), is voted down. On the other hand, the Recall, Proportional Representation, a corrupt practice act and law to instruct the legislature to vote the people's choice for United States Senator are all adapted by large vote. These latter four acts were most vehemently assaulted by the Oregonian, as were several other of the bills passed by the people, still the same were passed as shown. The fact is that the electorate have shown a surprising amount of independence and discrimination. I think that this election more than any other has demonstrated the utility of our system. As an indication of how strong popular rule is getting in this state there was the "Statement No. 1" law which passed by three to one, in the face of the adverse resolutions of the Republican platform, this year, and in face of all the ridicule

and abuse which the *Oregonian* and other papers could pile upon it. We feel that we are getting stronger all the time and if nothing untoward happens in the next few years we will, with the new legislation just enacted, completely revolutionize our political system and put the boss on the shelf for good."

Mr. Denlinger enclosed a ballot showing the result of the vote on the nineteen measures submitted. Nothing could better refute the cry that the people failed to discriminate or that they failed to take an intelligent interest in the election. Here are some facts that are illuminating as shown by the vote.

The salary-grab bill passed by the legislature was defeated by 50,000 majority.

The amendment changing the date of the election from June to the regular election day in November, was carried by 45,000 majority.

The vote for extending the armories and thus aiding in the plutocratic attempt to establish a militarism in our midst, was defeated by 20,000 majority.

The bill to increase the annual appropriation for the maintenance of the University of Oregon was carried by 6,500.

The right of recall was carried by two to one; and a bill making mandatory the will of the people on the legislators when they come to elect United States Senators, was carried three to one.

The corrupt practice act was carried by 25,000 majority.

The provision for Proportional Representation was carried by 16,000 majority.

A bill in favor of pool-rooms, sporting places, etc., gotten up in the interests of the bad element, was defeated by 10,000 majority.

Two radical measures upon which a great number of reformers had set their hearts, were defeated, thereby proving the inaccuracy of the claim of the enemies of popular government, that the people would accept every radical innovation proposed. The woman's suffrage bill was defeated by 22,000; and the land tax measure was lost by 25,000 majority.

The act to require railroads and other common carriers to grant free transportation to state officials, judges, etc., was defeated by a large majority.

While personally we regret that the woman's suffrage measure and the land tax proposition were defeated, yet this defeat proves nothing against Direct-Legislation. It merely shows that the people of Oregon as yet do not wish these measures and that the friends of such

measures must do more educational agitation before they can hope to triumph. No true friend of democratic government wishes laws forced upon the people which do not represent their wishes or desires; and the beauty of Direct-Legislation is that it gives the people the opportunity to enjoy the results of democratic government or popular rule, the precious privilege which differentiates a democratic or truly representative government from all forms of class government.

The defeat of the measure to compel the railways to carry public officials free, is gratifying. It proves, in the first place, the absolute falsity of the persistent claims of the railroad and corporation organs, that whenever the people have an opportunity they show an unreasoning hate toward the public-service monopolies; and in the second place, the state pays the legislators their mileage, and the legislators should not, even by a law passed by the state, be made in any way the pensioners of the public-service corporations.

The emphatic condemnation by the electorate of the bill to favor pool-rooms, sporting places, etc., in spite of the vast amount expended to carry the measure, is another indication that the voters if left free from the domination of corrupt machines and political bosses, can be depended upon to guard the moral welfare of society: while the emphatic

way in which the voters passed the corrupt practice act to prevent political degradation, affords another illustration of the fact that the Initiative and Referendum more than anything else promises the destruction of the riot of corruption and the rule of privileged wealth through the debauching of government, that has in recent decades transformed the Republic from a government representing the people, to a government representing corporate wealth and privileged classes.

The result of this election also gives emphasis to the claim of the friends of Direct-Legislation, that once place the government in the hands of the people, once give the voters the tools of democracy as provided by the Initiative and Referendum, and they will instantly take their old-time enthusiastic interest in the government, and that the city, state and nation will again become a veritable school for political economy.

Some time since a leading citizen of Oregon wrote us to the effect that since the passage of the Direct-Legislation amendment, Oregon had shaken off her lethargy and her people everywhere were taking an enthusiastic interest in the vital questions of government.

Oregon has splendidly answered the baseless claims of the reactionary upholders of class and corporation rule, who are destroying the soul of free or democratic government.

1 DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

A CORRESPONDENT writes that he has heard the charge that Direct-Legislation is not giving the satisfaction to the Swiss people that eminent American authors claim, and he wishes to know if there is any basis for this charge.

There is none, and the man must be reckless indeed who makes such a claim. Below we give a few expert opinions from great Swiss statesmen and educators:

Hon. Numa Droz, ex-President of the Swiss Republic, and author, says: "Under the influence of the referendum a profound change has come over the spirit both of Parliament and people. The idea of employer and employed, sender and sent, which lies at the root of the representative system, becomes an absolute reality. . . . The people have generally shown themselves wiser than the meddling politicians, who have tried to draw them

into systematic opposition. They have more than once given the agitator to understand that he had no chance with them. The net result has been a great tranquilizing of public life. When the ballot has pronounced, everybody accepts the results. Those who make the most noise cannot impose on the people as they do in other countries; they are taken for what they are worth."

Professor Charles Borgeaud, of the University of Geneva, writes: "The referendum has won its case. Unquestionably it has proven a boon to Switzerland, and has no more enemies of any following in the generation of to-day. . . . Now, why is that institution so popular in Switzerland that no one would dream of proposing that we should do away with it and go back to the purely representative system of 1848? Because it has proven an efficacious remedy, meeting in a

large measure the evils which may be consequent upon that form of government."

Hon. Karl Burkly, Counselor of Zurich, says: "The smooth working of our federal, cantonal and municipal referendum is, as a matter of fact, a truth generally acknowledged throughout Switzerland. The Initiative and Referendum are now deeply rooted in the hearts of the Swiss people. . . . So all is well with us, and you may authoritatively say that there is no agitation for its repeal or difficulty in its working, whether in Federation or in the Cantons or in the cities. Our Swiss political trinity—initiative, referendum and

proportional representation—is not only good and holy for hard-working Switzerland, but would be even better, I think, too, for the grand country in North America."

Here is the testimony of Sir Francis Adams, the British Minister to Berne:

"The referendum has struck root and expanded wherever it has been introduced, and no serious politician of any party would now think of attempting its abolishment. The conservatives, who violently opposed its introduction, became its earnest supporters when they found that it undoubtedly acted as a drag upon hasty and radical law-making."

PROHIBITION AND DECREASE OF CRIME.

TWO OF the strongest arguments that are successfully advanced against the license and sale of intoxicating liquors, are the suffering which the liquor traffic entails on the innocent victims of those addicted to rum, and the enormous increase of crime and the consequent cost to the country in the protection of society and the punishment of crimes due to liquor.

If the man who drank were the only sufferer from the evil consequences of drunkenness, the position of the foes of license would be far weaker than it is; and it is doubtful whether the people could be won to any attempt to seriously restrict the sale of strong drink. But when it is remembered that the lives of the innocent wives and other relatives of the drunkards are frequently rendered almost unbearable, that children are cursed before they see the light of day, and that a large number of the victims of those who have

been cursed by drink are in no way under the influence of liquor themselves, no one can deny that society and the state have a right to act in the premises.

Again, besides these things, there is the vast waste of wealth incident to drink through incapacitating its victims for efficient productive labor. The increased cost of the machinery of justice, law and order imposes fearful burdens on society. In cities where license and no license obtains, the difference in the number of arrests and prosecutions is startling. Here, for example, is the record for arrests for five months in Birmingham, Alabama, under license, and the corresponding record of arrests for five months under prohibition.

The total number of arrests during January, February, March, April and May, 1907, when license obtained, was 4,137. The arrests for the corresponding months in 1908, when the city was under prohibition, were 2,734.

OPPOSITION OF MR. TAFT'S COUSINS TO HIS CANDIDACY.

AT THE recent Prohibition convention held in Columbus, Ohio, the fact was brought out that two prominent members of the Taft family, cousins of the Presidential nominee, are aggressively opposing the election of Mr. Taft to the Presidency. In an interview published in the newspapers of July 14th the Rev. S. H. Taft of California, in reply to a question relative to his opposition to his cousin, said:

"Yes, it's true that I'm a relative of Judge Taft; but I would n't vote for him if he were

my father. Any man who would advise the people of Oklahoma to vote against the Prohibition clause in the Constitution must repent very thoroughly before I give him my support."

Rev. William J. Taft, another cousin of the Presidential nominee, who came to the Prohibition convention at the head of the Connecticut delegation, said:

"I can't support Judge Taft, even though he's my first cousin. I shall support the Prohibition nominee at the polls and shall work for his election."

THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

The Rapid Spread of Christian Socialism in America.

THE Christian Socialist Congress or Conference held in New York City during the last days of May, proved a revelation to tens of thousands of sleeping Americans who imagined that the gold so judiciously spent by Messrs. Rockefeller, Archbold, Rogers, Morgan and other modern master spirits of the commercial feudalism on missionary societies, churches and colleges, had effectively anesthetized the religious conscience of America. At the conference the fact was revealed that over three hundred American clergymen were avowed Socialists. Bishop Spalding of Utah and Rev. R. Heber Newton were among the prominent Episcopalian divines whose words at the convention gave forth no uncertain tones. But most of the other Protestant denominations were well represented. Many New York and Brooklyn churches threw open their doors to the visiting Socialist clergymen and at the great mass meeting held in Carnegie Hall, over three thousand persons were present. The great enthusiasm that greeted the remarks of Eugene Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, was also very significant as indicating the rapid change in sentiment on the part of a large and rapidly-growing body of conscience-guided American clergymen.

The Sagamore Beach Conference.

Another very significant recent happening indicating the awakening of the clergy to the importance of seriously studying fundamental social and economic conditions, was the conference of clergymen held at Sagamore Beach on July 2nd, at which Robert Hunter and John Spargo appeared to present Socialist ideals and to answer all questions that the ministers might choose to propound. For forty-eight hours these representatives of American Socialistic ideals discussed economic conditions. At that time Professor Vida Scudder and Professor Emily G. Balch of Wellesley College both openly proclaimed their allegiance to Socialism, and the press reports declared that many of the clergymen confessed a leaning toward Socialism and all unanimously adopted for 1908 the platform of the Sagamore Beach Sociological Conference: the fair distribution of the products

of labor; effective control of public utilities and abolition of special privileges; maintenance of free speech, press and assembly; income and inheritance taxes; public absorption of the unearned investment in land.

The Growth of Socialistic Theories Among Religious Leaders of England.

Even more remarkable than the Christian Socialist Conference in New York, as illustrating the rapid change that has taken place among the religious leaders of England, was the recent Pan-Anglican Congress which was held the third week in June in London. Some time since we called attention to the fact that the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the brilliant Non-conformist divine who is the pastor of the famous City Temple of London, had come out for Socialism and written a remarkably able work in defence of his convictions. But the stand of this distinguished orator and thinker was far less significant of changing religious thought among leaders than the astonishing sentiments expressed by leading Anglican bishops and clergymen at the Pan-Anglican Conference. No session of the congress brought anything like such a large attendance as that devoted to "The Church and Socialism." According to the press, 150 archbishops and bishops and a great number of clergymen were present. It is stated that with a single exception, every speaker evinced strong Socialistic leanings. The distinguished Bishop of Manchester was to have presided but was prevented from attendance by illness. He sent, however, a ringing message that ought to prove a clarion call to the sleeping conscience of England. In it he described in vivid language the injustice of the existing divisions of profit between capital and industry. After picturing the grinding poverty of the workers and the luxury of the idle rich, he demanded from the church "A tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and so greatly to champion the oppressed and weak."

The dispatches from London describing this meeting, among other things contained the following:

"The Rev. J. G. Simpson, principal of the clergy school at Leeds, assured the vast audience that all over the north of England they were face to face with the rising tide of Social-

ism, which they were powerless to stem even if they wished to do so. Countless workers in the forges, furnaces and mills of the north had adopted the Socialistic idea and held to it like a religion and loved it like a bride. He demanded that the church give free field to Socialism. He appealed to it to try to understand it and not hasten to discount it.

"More significant than the speeches themselves was the keen interest shown in the Socialistic pleas and earnest enthusiasm with which such points as those given were greeted from all parts of the hall."

In commenting on this religious awakening in the Mother Land, Mr. Louis F. Post of the *Chicago Public* well says:

"It is indicative of an awakening of the sense of social justice, which has been numb in all the churches. A very great revival is that in any church which makes its ministers exclaim with indignation against social injustice, which makes them denounce as sin a state of society wherein, so distinctively as in ours, the poor are of the working class and the rich are of the idle class. The economic, not to say the moral, incongruity of such a condition, since poverty means lack of labor products and riches means abundance of labor products, should have burned into the consciences of churchmen long ago. That it is burning into them now is significant of social readjustments of the greatest value to mankind.

EDWIN MARKHAM ON RELIGION AND THE SOCIAL STATE

AT THE great mass meeting attended by over three thousand people, held in Carnegie Hall, in New York City, on May 31st, under the auspices of the Christian Socialist Conference, the great poet of democracy and social advance, Edwin Markham, presided and read his noble poem, "The Muse of Brotherhood." Mr. Markham, in opening the meeting, thus expressed his views on the duty of religion in the presence of present-day social and economic problems:

"I believe in religion to the core of my soul. A reasonable religion balances the mind and gives solidity to character. But I believe in a practical religion, a religion that goes down into the hard ground of practical affairs. Once two artists in Abraham Lincoln's presence were arguing as to how long a man's legs ought to be. They could not decide the question, so they turned to Lincoln to decide the case. 'How long, Mr. Lincoln, ought a man's legs to be?' 'I'll tell you,' he replied, 'a man's legs ought to be long enough to reach the ground!' And I say that a man's religion ought to be long enough to reach the ground of secular affairs.

"The old idea of the antagonism between the sacred and the secular is passing away. The secular is not opposed to God: the secular is the ground, and the only ground, for the activities of the divine. There is nothing secular but sin—nothing secular but robbery, and the robbery of the poor by the trusts and

combinations is the worst form of robbery. Indeed, the secular is the only ground for all sacred activities. Jesus left the one great command—to build the kingdom of order on Earth. We must find our heaven here in this hard, cold actual, or we will find it nowhere. We are here in the midst of the raw materials of Paradise. What shall we do with the materials? Religion must handle them, for religion is heaven-building. Her chief business is to organize here and now the kingdom of order. She must search for the economics that will furnish a basis for a new society. Religion has talked for centuries of the beauty of Brotherhood; now it is her pressing business to discover the Economics of Brotherhood. Religion must be secularized. On this depends her life.

"I believe that Jesus is the supreme Savior of men. But his saviorhood must descend into industry. Jesus must be seen as the Savior of Business. Until our business is saved, lifted up into the spirit of brotherhood, we are not saved. Competition and self-seeking in business is Pagan. Business must be made coöperative and Christian. Jesus must appear as the savior of Industry. His spirit must be heard singing in all the wheels of civilization.

"All that I have said shows that there is a close union between the spirit of Jesus and the spirit of the Coöperative Commonwealth toward which so many hearts are turning as

the last great hope of humanity. A new and better order is certainly coming, coming slowly but surely. It will come; it will be an Evolution rather than a Revolution. It will come with the spread of thought, and with the growth of the idea that the Golden Rule furnishes the only working principle of a harmonious and happy social life."

Here are some lines from Mr. Markham's noble poem on brotherhood that strike the key-note of the master ideal that is stirring the social conscience of awakened twentieth-century manhood:

"The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to Earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it come, we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

"Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for Man."

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

The Oregon Election.

ON THE first of June the state of Oregon held its biennial election in which nineteen referendum questions were passed upon, a number of officers elected and the people's choice made for United States Senator. The result is as full of encouragement to the friends of a pure democracy as was that of the election of 1906.

The most significant expression of the freedom of citizenship which Direct-Legislation has given Oregon was the vote for George E. Chamberlain, a Democrat, for United States Senator, in a state which is always Republican, and in an election in which all the Republican candidates for state office were elected by majorities of from ten to twenty thousand. The candidates for the legislature in Oregon are required to sign one of two statements as follows:

Statement No. 1.—"I state to the people of Oregon as well as to the people of my legislative district that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the biggest number of the people's votes for that position at the June election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress without regard to my individual preference." Every man who looks upon himself as truly a representative of the people will sign the above pledge, and the people of Oregon so far have shown that this is what they want their representatives to do.

Statement No. 2, however, which is for another type of politician, reads as follows:

"During my term of office I shall consider the vote for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient." A large majority of the members of the legislature elected are statement No. 1 men, and this undoubtedly means the election of Chamberlain, but the Republican machine of Oregon, the old machine of Senator Mitchell, is in its death throes and knows it. The *Portland Oregonian*, the organ of the machine, has come out in a brazen statement that the belief is now general that the legislature will not elect Chamberlain, and with a number of specious arguments why the legislators of one party should not vote for a Senator who is a member of the opposing party. The statement No. 1 plan makes partisan politics an impossibility, and the *Oregonian* bewailingly says, "It cannot stand as a permanent method of politics as it is not reasonable; because it is the negation of party organization because it violates custom, usage and constitutional method," etc., "it is sure to beget by its methods political dissensions in any powerful party." But the *Oregonian* is compelled to add, "It is not to be doubted that the majority of the whole people are at present for Statement No. 1." It is not to be imagined that so brazen a scheme to defy the expressed law of the state will be successful, but the attempt

to do it on the part of the machine politicians serves to strengthen the devotion of the people of Oregon to their fundamental democratic law by which they are able to deliver themselves from their misrepresentatives.

In the votes on the nineteen referendum questions there can be no fair question raised but that the popular will was intelligently expressed. There will be plenty of criticism of the popular will so expressed both by conservatives who object to the progressive measures passed and radicals who feel blue over the failure of certain measures. No true democrat, however, can fail to be satisfied with the result providing he is convinced (and no one disputes this) that the vote was intelligent and fair.

The following is the result according to unofficial returns:

The bill to increase the pay of the legislators was defeated in a heavy majority.

The bill for establishing state institutions in scattered locations was carried.

The bill for increasing the number of judges of the Supreme Court was defeated by a small majority.

The bill for holding elections in November instead of June was carried by a large majority.

The bill in which the legislature had attempted to take the custody of the prisoners away from the sheriff for a wholly unworthy purpose was vetoed by the people.

The bill by which the legislature had decreed that railroads should furnish free passes to public officials was also vetoed.

The Armory Appropriation bill was lost.

An initiated bill by which the tough element in the state had attempted to secure the open-town policy of licensed saloons and gambling dens and brothels was defeated.

The corrupt-practices bill was carried.

The bills for the regulation of the fishing industries and the curtailment of the monopoly powers in them were carried.

The appropriation for the State University which was passed by the legislature and held up by the grangers was endorsed by the people.

The bill for woman's suffrage was defeated, as was also the so-called Single Tax bill, each of them worthy measures but measures for which the people of the state of Oregon were not yet ready; and however earnestly any real democrat might believe in these measures he cannot but recognize the right of the people to decide them, and for that matter

prefer to have the people themselves reject these measures than to have rulers of the people enact them when the people are not ready for them.

The one thing which stands out in this election above all others is the fact that although the people were not ready for single tax, woman suffrage and many other reforms of more or less desirability, they expressed with no uncertain voice their belief in a direct vote and the maintenance of public control over the government.

A bill for the establishment of the Recall by which unworthy representatives may be unseated was passed, and a bill for the strengthening of the system whereby the people shall determine who shall be their United States Senator received the largest majority in the entire vote, and last but not least a bill for the establishment of Proportional Representation was carried.

Thus once more, in the adoption of a system by which minorities shall have recognition, the state of Oregon takes the lead in democratic progress.

The Grange of Eugene has appropriated \$500 to assist in defending the case in which the Pacific Telegraph Company seeks in the United States Supreme Court to overthrow the Direct-Legislation amendment to the Oregon Constitution.

Cleveland Traction.

ON JUNE second the last formalities in the merger of the Forest City and Low Fare Railway companies with the old Cleveland Electric were put through, and Mayor Johnson had won his fight for the people. There was still an aftermath to be reckoned with, however, in the demand for a referendum under the Schmidt law which demand was brought about by a coalition of the Union-labor forces and the obstructionists of the old private monopoly sympathizers. The petition bearing the names of 25,000 persons demanding the referendum on the new franchise was prepared by the obstructionists and submitted on the 27th of May. They were assisted in the work by the peculiar situation that had arisen out of the strike of the employes which was planned for and instigated by the old company.

The Union was in the wrong and lost its fight, but the bitterness engendered by the strife served as an inciting cause for demand-

ing the referendum. Mayor Johnson at once sent postal-cards to the signers of the petition asking them whether they did sign it and whether they wished to retract their signatures. At once responses began to come in denying the signatures and also retracting. At the present writing Mayor Johnson has declared that not over forty-eight per cent. of the signatures were valid and that probably the referendum would not be taken. I hope Mayor Johnson will not refuse the vote. He has paid a good price already for the democracy in which he believes and he can well afford to permit once more the people of Cleveland to vote on this question. They have always endorsed him in the past and there is every reason to believe they will continue to do so.

A Significant Straw Vote.

THE *Success* magazine has taken a poll of its 10,000 life subscribers on a number of the most important questions of the day with a result that is both surprising and significant.

The questions were mailed on January 25, 1908, with the request that Yes or No be the vote on each question. The 10,000 replies received by March first are a clearer indication of national feeling upon the issues involved than any voting for candidates or party platforms could possibly be, and the editor of *Success* as a result sees a new significance in the referendum principle.

On the first question, "Should the government exercise a stronger control over corporations doing an inter-state business?" there were 9,146 affirmative votes against only 209 in the negative.

Still more remarkable are the returns on what was really the key question, Number Four: "Would you support the President and Congress in carrying out corporation reforms which would tend to the permanent betterment of our social conditions, even if it meant some personal sacrifice in the way of 'money panics' restriction of bank credits, and other matters affecting business?"

"Frankly," says *Success*, "we should not have been surprised at some little evasion or even a good many plain negatives on this question. Among our life subscribers are many bankers, lawyers, physicians, manufacturers, and other types of men of affairs who might be naturally somewhat more conservative than farmers, clerks, students, etc.,

on the list. But this result was the most overwhelming of all. The 'ayes' have it by 9,137 to 175. Could there have been a more complete answer to a difficult question? The conclusion is inevitable that the country is not 'clamoring for a rest.'

"The upbuilding of the navy was approved by 8,218 to 1,988. But the answer to the question of the advisability of spending vast sums of public money for the development of our national resources, such as internal waterways, irrigation, the Panama Canal, etc., brings back to the former preponderance of 'ayes' in this instance 9,050 to 266."

Here again we have a strong indication of how differently the people's will would be interpreted if they were permitted to vote directly upon public questions instead of being confined to voting for men whose positions on public questions even when it does not have to be guessed at is always a matter of combination and compromise.

Springfield's Franchises Protected.

THE Board of Aldermen in Springfield, Illinois, under the leadership of Alderman Farris have adopted the following resolution providing that no street railway franchise ordinance be passed without a referendum:

"Whereas, At an election held in April A. D. 1907, the people of the city of Springfield under and by virtue of the public policy law of the state of Illinois, expressed themselves by a majority vote of nearly three to one, in favor of submitting to them for determination all propositions to grant, extend or enlarge the general street railway franchises, privileges, or rights of any person, company or corporation in or to the streets or alleys of the said city; and

"Whereas, This city council as the representatives is in duty bound to respect their wishes thus so overwhelmingly expressed; now therefore, be it

"Resolved, By said council that no ordinance, in any manner, granting, extending or enlarging or attempting to grant, extend or enlarge the general street railway franchises, rights or privileges of said city, be passed by said council until such ordinance shall be submitted to, and approved by, the people of said city, in accordance with their wishes as expressed at said election."

In the face of Mayor Busse's objection and the wire-pulling of the Chicago Republican

machine to prevent it the legislature at Springfield inserted a referendum clause in the bond bills for which the Chicago administration has so hungrily clamored.

City Charters.

THE MOVEMENT for the improvement of city charters is spreading with great strength and rapidity.

In Massachusetts the cities of Lawrence and Haverhill have been granted charters giving them a commission form of government with the referendum attached, while the city of Chelsea has been handed a "gold brick" in the form of a Board of Control over which the people have absolutely no control whatever.

Gloucester also has a new bill which does not contain the initiative and referendum. Other Massachusetts cities are in considerable agitation on the question.

Buffalo, New York, is clamoring for a better form of city government and the advocates of the Des Moines plan are showing considerable strength.

The Milwaukee Charter Convention has listened to Mr. Bigelow and has received instructions by referendum from the twenty-eight organizations comprising the Civic Federation of the city to provide for:

"The elimination of every trace of national and state politics from city elections and government."

"The removal of the evils of patronage by a more complete application of the merit system of appointment.

"The largest degree of home-rule that is consistent with the interests of the state, because undue subordination of the city to state legislative control is largely productive of the apathy which characterizes municipal citizenship."

Oakland is falling in line with other California cities in demanding the Initiative and Referendum in her new charter.

Jackson, Mississippi, voted on June fifth for the commission form of government, while Laurel, Paden and a number of smaller towns have voted against it.

Chico, California, turned down a proposed charter last year and is now preparing a new one.

The most interesting fight on city charters during the month has been that waged in Kansas City, and the principal point of contention has been the incorporation of the

referendum in the charter. The charter board has surrendered to the referendum forces and the quarrel over the percentage provision which the obstructionists put up seems to be going in the direction of a potent referendum.

Kansas City, Kansas, is also in the fight for the new kind of city government.

Notes.

THE EXTENSION division of the University of Wisconsin has issued a leaflet for the benefit of debating societies giving a suggested form of resolution for debate and a list of references on the Initiative and Referendum. This is one of a series of very useful leaflets for the purposes of debating and public discussion in which many vital public questions are dealt with.

THE PEOPLE of Reading, Pennsylvania, voted on June 23rd for a \$600,000 bond extension for public purposes.

THE MAYOR of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has made a very commendable suggestion that the members of the police and fire commissions be elected by the people.

THE PEOPLE of Saco, Maine, have recently voted down a road-building proposition which they considered too extravagant.

A FREE public library was voted for by the people of New Hampton, Iowa, in June. Andrew Carnegie gave the building and the people imposed upon themselves a three-mill tax for its support.

THE CITIZENS of Brockton, Massachusetts, will vote in the fall on the question whether the city laborers shall receive an advance in wages from \$2.25 to \$2.50 a day with a Saturday half-holiday.

THE PEOPLE of Essex County, Massachusetts, take a referendum vote in November on the building of a new Court House at Lynn.

A FEATURE of the Des Moines charter will be called into action at the November election on the question whether the city shall continue the policy of remitting taxes of manufacturing concerns in order to induce them to locate in Des Moines. They will also vote whether the city shall carry out existing contracts relieving certain companies from taxation for a certain period of years.

A VOTE is being taken in the City of Mexico to see whether or not liquor shall be served at a celebration of the Fourth of July presumably conducted by American citizens.

THE Congregational Convention of Vermont has voted calling for a referendum on the question of the present liquor law.

THE State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas met at Dallas June eighth and received a petition for state prohibition under the Terrell election law of that state. Such a petition signed by the required number of Democratic voters is mandatory upon the executive committee to submit the matter to a referendum of the party at the polls. This is true democracy in the management of a political party and should be imitated in every state and by the other party as well.

THE PEOPLE of Atlanta, Georgia, are soon to vote upon the issue of a million and a half in bonds for the purpose of constructing an adequate sewerage system.

THE Prohibitionists of Louisiana are fighting for a bill which is unusual from the fact that it is a combination of referendum and local option. By its provisions the districts voting against saloons would become "dry," but whether or not the districts voting for the saloon would remain wet would be determined by the total vote throughout the state. The bill will as now framed secure from the whole state an expression of opinion upon state-wide prohibition and at the same time it will not endanger the status of the considerable territory which already is "dry" under local-option laws.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL WEST of Oklahoma has announced that if the governor fails to sign the anti-trust bill now in his hands he will immediately take steps to initiate a bill of this sort to be voted on by the people in the fall election.

THE Arkansas State Democratic Convention pronounced as heretofore for the Initiative and Referendum and declared for the submission of the question of prohibition to the people.

THE Red River Valley Baptist Conference of North Dakota has passed a resolution in opposition to the Initiative and Referendum

constitutional amendment which the people are to vote upon in November, the opposition being on the ground that the bill will permit the people of the state again to vote on the question of prohibition.

FOR THE first time in the history of any state the voters of the Democratic party of Alabama voted this year direct for the Presidential candidates on the party ticket. Names of William J. Bryan and John A. Johnson were printed upon the ticket which was voted in the general primary and the result of the vote was mandatory upon the delegates to the Denver convention.

PETITIONS to town and supervisorial boards asking for a referendum vote to make primary elections mandatory are being circulated in nine communities in northern California. The petitions must be signed by half the electors who voted at the previous election. The arbitrary appointment of delegates by the machine for the Republican convention of last month has given the stimulus for carrying out the provisions in the several communities.

THE PEOPLE of Pittsburg are to vote at the special election in the summer on a number of referendum questions upon which the state government has disagreed. The questions, all of them have reference to improvements and extensions along lines that are common to city governments and involving expenditures of over ten millions of dollars.

THE ANTI-PROHIBITIONISTS of North Carolina have attacked the legality of the recent referendum vote of that state on the liquor question. They contend that the law providing for the referendum was passed at a special session of the legislature called for the purpose of handling the railroad question and that therefore extraneous questions could not be handled legally.

ABOUT sixty-five women participated in the referendum vote in South Orange by which they defeated a bond order.

THE TAXPAYERS of Newark, New Jersey, held a referendum in June in which only taxpayers could participate, voting on several questions which involved the expenditure of money.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

The Cleveland Settlement.

TO THOSE who have followed Mayor Tom L. Johnson's heroic fight in the matter of Cleveland's traction problem, April 27th, the "Free Ride Day," was indeed a red-letter day. It marks the end of a seven years' struggle, a struggle against legislatures bought and sold, against laws made and unmade, against every known form of corruption and trickery. Yet in speaking of the event, "Mayor Tom" merely says, "It is prophetic of what the future has in store. The end of my street-car policy will not be accomplished until car rides in Cleveland are as free as water at the fountain in the Public Square."

The end of the struggle has been skilfully fogged in the press, both by news (so called) of the strike (so called) and by reports (so called) of the settlement itself. The strike was due to the influence of the old traction company and was based on a former agreement between that company and its employes, to the effect that if the company received an extended franchise before May, 1909, the men were to receive a raise of two cents an hour. When the new holding company, the Municipal Traction Company, took over the Cleveland Electric, the men claimed that this was equivalent to an extended franchise. Hence the strike. The Municipal offered to give the men the one cent an hour more that had always been the prevailing rate in the low-fare company, but this the men declined. The prompt action of Mayor Johnson put a stop to the use of dynamite, and the strike fizzled. There were only 700 men still out when the question of the basis of return, practically the only one left, was submitted to arbitration.

For an exact statement of the terms of the traction settlement itself we quote *The Public* of May 8th:

"The stock of the Cleveland Electric ("Con-Con") was reduced from \$23,400,000 to \$12,870,000. (Note: The last stage of the struggle has been waged about the price to be paid for the Con-Con stock. The agreement resulted from the compromise price, \$55 a share.) This covers its old properties. An increase of its stock to \$35,000,000 was then authorized for the purpose of taking in the

Forest City ("Threefer") at \$1,805,600 and providing means for retiring bonds and making improvements. Next in order, the Cleveland Electric formally surrendered all existing franchises and accepted the new 'security franchise,' which makes a twenty-five-year grant at six tickets for twenty-five cents, to be effective in case the plan of transfer to the 'holding company' on a three-cent fare basis proves a failure. The name of the Cleveland Electric is to be changed to the Cleveland Railway Company, and all litigation with the low-fare companies is to be dismissed. The lease to the 'holding company' (the Municipal Traction Company) for fifty years, of all property and rights possessed or to be acquired, had already been made. The directors of the 'holding company' are now increased from five to nine. They are as follows: (Old directors) A. B. Dupont, Edward Wiebenson, C. W. Stage, Frederick C. Howe and William Grief. (New directors) F. H. Goff, Ben T. Cable, Newton D. Baker and Tom L. Johnson.

"In celebration of this victory for low fares the 'holding company' devoted the first day of its complete authority, the 27th, to free rides. From early morning until the next morning everybody rode free. This is to be established as an annual custom in honor of the day. In fact the Cleveland Low-Fare movement contemplates, probably at no distant day, the establishment of free rides to everybody all the time. On the 28th, the second day of its complete authority, the 'holding company' began operation with universal three-cent fares within the city, one cent extra for transfers (an exaction to continue only ninety days), and five cents for suburbanites (also to be modified as soon as the new arrangements disclose the cost of suburban service). The wages of the conductors and motormen of the old company at once increased one cent an hour to equalize the wages paid by the Low-Fare Company, and provisions were made for supplying all uniforms free."

[NOTE: The "security franchise" has been the cause of much misunderstanding. The six rides for twenty-five cents is the rate that would be adopted should present plans prove a failure. No such rate goes into effect now.]

An Awakening.

THERE has been considerable activity, recently, in the direction of Municipal Ownership in the Trust State itself, New Jersey, and the indications are that three years from now the public utilities map of the state will be very different from the present one. Hardly a week goes by that does not see the inception of a new plant. It is curiously noticeable in Jersey's fight for utilities that the mosquito state has suffered greater hardship in the way of extortion by private owners of public utilities than almost any other state.

In connection with the popular election to decide the desirability of establishing an electric-lighting plant in Passaic the Newark *News* calls attention to the fact that so far the effect of the Jones Act of 1906 has been to furnish a club to be held over the public-service corporations. Newark, Patterson, Elizabeth, Camden, Passaic and Woodbury have each in accordance with this act submitted an electric-lighting proposition to popular vote, and the council in each of these cities is thereby empowered to establish a public plant. So far, however, nothing has been done beyond forcing reduced rates from the companies now operating. Despite this strange (?) coincidence which seems hardly spontaneous, it is apparent that many Jersey citizens have reached the limit of their endurance, and despite free literature "in libraries and barber-shops" are awakening to the advantages of public-ownership. In a large number of cities where no elections have been held on the question of establishing electric-lighting plants and water-works, the old five-year contracts are being replaced by contracts of one and two years.

Another Good Record From Somerville, Massachusetts.

Annual, additional and metered water charges.....	\$231,252.96
Abatements made on the above charges.....	\$4,353.01
Refunds made on the above charges.....	552.46
Abatements made on charges of 1906.....	343.96
	5,249.43
Income from sale of water.....	\$226,993.53
Amount received from water-service assessment.....	3,254.88
Amount received from labor and materials.....	5,879.71
Total income of water works	\$235,138.12
This amount was used as follows:	

For water-works purposes:	
Water-works maintenance.....	\$30,721.75
Water-works extension.....	17,039.00
Miscellaneous accounts.....	5,879.71
Interest on water-loan bonds.....	2,300.00
Maturing water-loan bonds.....	7,000.00
Metropolitan water-works assessment.....	106,334.61
	\$170,175.07

For other municipal purposes:	
Sewers, maintenance.....	\$12,000.00
Interest on sewer-loan bonds.....	9,137.50
Fire department.....	30,000.00
Reduction of funded debt.....	13,823.85
Balance carried to credit of Water Income account of 1906.....	1.90
	54,963.05
	\$235,138.12

The Worth of Water.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the American Water-works Association has made many of the technical journals in the last two months lay emphasis on water-works, and this has given us some valuable statistics. While it is probable that the following figures will not be of interest to every reader they will nevertheless serve, in many instances, as convenient bases of comparison.

A paper was read before the American Water-works Association by Dow R. Glynn, and is quoted by the *Municipal Journal*, giving information collected by him about a year ago concerning the water rates paid in 375 cities in the United States. These cities include all but three of the 160 having a population of more than 25,000 in 1900. The annual and meter rates charged in these cities averaged as follows:

	Private-Owned Plants.	Public-Owned Plants.	Both Private and Public.
Domestic use in 6-room house or 5 persons or first faucet.....	\$6.93	\$6.04	\$6.40
Additional for 1 bath, hot-water connections.....	3.88	2.99	3.40
Additional for 1 self-closing water-closet.....	3.60	3.12	3.28
	\$14.40	\$12.15	\$13.18
Additional for 1 basin, hot-water connection.....	1.94	1.55	1.74
	\$16.34	\$13.70	\$14.92
Additional for sprinkling a 50 x 140-foot lot, including sidewalk and street in front.....	6.17	4.37	5.20
Total charge per annum for all the above privileges..	20.53	18.34	18.33
SCHEDULE METER RATES.			
Highest per 1,000 gallons.....	\$0.318	\$0.218	\$0.262
Lowest per 1,000 gallons.....	.108	.079	.093

Number of reports from cities with private-owned plants..... 162

Number of reports from cities with public-owned plants.....	213
Total.....	375
Average population of cities with private-owned plants.....	25,437
Average population of cities with public-owned plants.....	85,382
Average.....	59,577

As a convenient table for basing water-works comparisons the following shows the cost of water under simple conditions:

	Ordinary Conditions.	Double Pumping or Filtration
Domestic use, 6 rooms .	\$6.00 plus 25 per cent.	\$7.50
Bath, with or without hot water.....	3.00	3.75
Water-closet (self-closing).....	4.20	5.25
Wash-basin.....	.90	1.13
	<u>\$14.10</u>	<u>\$17.63</u>
Sprinkling 50-foot lot in connection with above uses.....	6.00	7.50
	<u>\$20.10</u>	<u>\$25.13</u>

METER RATES.		
Minimum monthly rate.....	.80	1.00
Sliding scale.....		
Highest meter rate per 1,000 gallons net.....	.32	.40
Lowest meter rate.....	.08	.10
Special rate where consumption is 3,000,000 or more per month....	.065	.081

The *Municipal Journal* for May 6th gives a number of detailed statistics concerning about 400 water-works plants. It contains, also, an interesting table on the "Estimated Life and Depreciation of Water-works Plants," compiled by William H. Bryan; and another showing the form for water-works statistics recommended by the New England Association of Water-works and other societies. Most of the Massachusetts reports are in this form. For an immediate impression of the work accomplished by any plant, however, the form of the Somerville report, which will be found in another column, is more satisfactory.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

By HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

A Co-operative Summer Camp.

ON THE borders of Lake Geneva, near Chicago, is a summer camp which is owned and run coöperatively by some residents of the city of Chicago who "commute" back and forth daily during the summer. The thirteen acres which compose the camp-ground were bought in 1880, and at that time there were about eighteen families who formed the association. For the first ten years they lived in tents, but at the end of that time a large club-house was built containing a dining-room large enough to seat 150 guests, and having sleeping rooms above. Most of the residents still prefer to live in tents though a few of them have built cottages for themselves. The club-house is 100 feet long by 40 feet wide, with a kitchen 50 feet long by 40 feet wide. The kitchen is as completely equipped as a model hotel kitchen and has a capacity for feeding 150 people. The first floor is an open room with no partitions, the floor being especially adapted for dancing. There are eighteen bedrooms on the upper floor. Mr. Henry W. Cutter, president of the

club, says, "During the winter, the custodian of the grounds puts up about two hundred tons of ice. The grounds are piped with water to each tent and cottage, and the water is used for bathing, laundry, and sprinkling the grass, and for such use, is pumped into a tank holding ten thousand gallons this tank being placed on a structure higher than the club-house. The water is pumped by a hot-air engine which is the most economical power for this purpose I have ever seen, a half-bushel of coal being sufficient to pump all the water we can use during the entire day. Our own garden supplies us with fresh vegetables."

The International Equity Exchange.

A PLAN to establish several coöperative stores in Chicago has been under consideration for several months and final arrangements are being made for the purchase of several stores. The plan is to purchase a large number of grocery stores in different parts of the city, retaining the present proprietors as

managers at a fixed minimum salary plus a percentage on all sales over and above a certain amount each month. A central warehouse is to be established to which the goods will be shipped by the farmers and from there they will be distributed to the various branch houses. The goods will be sold at the prevailing market prices, but purchasers will be entitled each month to a rebate, according to the amount purchased and the profits made. The International Equity Exchange has received its charter of incorporation under the laws of New Jersey and is prepared to issue charters to the various local branches. The local branch established several months ago at 249 West Randolph Street, will become a part of the larger movement, and its present owner, W. W. Scott, will manage it. The secretary of the union, Mr. M. W. Tubbs of St. Louis, feels that while the project is being successfully carried on in that city in a small way Chicago is the ideal center to start on a large scale. Enough money has been subscribed to warrant the opening of at least four stores in Chicago. The stores will increase in number as well as size as the business grows, but the present idea is to limit them to handling of potatoes, butter, eggs, fruits and vegetables.

Another Chicago Enterprise.

A CENTRAL council of people who are interested in coöperation has been started in Chicago, and several men who have taken an active interest in coöperation in the United States are in charge of the association. Their purpose as set forth in a letter addressed to various coöperative organizations in the country is to form "a center for collection and distribution of information concerning the cause of coöperation and to secure a suitable body of persons who would be ready to furnish advice and assistance to persons or organizations desiring to institute coöperative work. . . . The purpose is not to promote any particular form of coöperation or advance any special political or sectarian organization, but simply to unite all friends of coöperation regardless of other beliefs. The preliminary committee needs a list of all institutions, societies, clubs and organizations and persons which in any way use the principles of coöperation or the name; also a list of persons interested." This letter is signed by Messrs. C. O. Boring, J. Burrett Smith, W. C. Bowne, Dr. W. E. Boynton, L. O. Hull and others.

Windy City Apartments.

A CO-OPERATIVE apartment house is being erected at 40 Cedar Street, Chicago, by five wealthy men who desire a convenient town house for themselves during the winter months. The total cost is to be \$100,000, of which \$13,000 is to go for the land and \$87,000 for the house itself, which is to be built in the colonial style of architecture. Each apartment is to have twelve rooms, and the first floor is to be fitted up as a garage with room for five machines. A refrigerating plant and other features which go with a building of this character will be in the building, and it is expected will be the most novel as well as the most elegant of its kind in Chicago. One of the men who are to share in this building is an architect, and it is he who has designed the building.

Getham Co-operative Finance.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Metropolitan League of Local Coöperative Savings and Loan Associations was held in April. The meeting was preceded by a dinner. The Metropolitan League actively represents the interests of the local associations of Greater New York, 107 in number, with assets of \$16,000,000, and a membership of 15,421. While the past year has been a very trying one for financial institutions of all classes, the local coöperative savings associations have not suffered any great inconvenience from the unusual conditions prevailing, and Superintendent Banks, in his annual report, states that notwithstanding "the financial stringency and the panic conditions that have recently prevailed in the total assets of the associations of this state have shown a greater increase, \$2,378,373, than at any other recent period, and the number of shares issued has also exceeded the number of shares withdrawn."

Co-operative Cooking.

A COMMUNISTIC kitchen on a small scale is being experimented with in New York City where several women are endeavoring to solve the housekeeping problem for themselves and tenement-house mothers, by furnishing dinners consisting of two dishes, selected so as to compose dietetically a perfect meal. One meal consists of meat pie and ice cream, the pie containing vegetables and the crust being made of potatoes; another is a hearty soup

with fruit or shortcake; or corned beef and cabbage and jellied prunes; corned-beef hash and rice pudding; split-pea soup with ham and ice cream. The cost of the dinners is about ten cents.

Co-operative Education.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY is contemplating taking up the Schneider plan of coöperative education which has been in practice at the University of Cincinnati, Ohio, in the engineering department, for several years and which permits students to study a week and work a week. This lengthens a four-year course into six years, but the student is enabled to be self-supporting. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Armour Institute of Chicago are investigating this plan with a view to introducing it in their schools.

Aroostook, Maine.

A RECENT report of Aroostook Pomona Grange of Maine shows that the store of the Caribou Grange transacted a sales business of over \$56,000 in 1907, with a trade stock of but slightly over \$6,000. The Houlton, Maine, Grange has long been famous for its successful store, and it is encouraging to find another Maine Grange following in its footsteps.

Brooklyn, New York.

THE Coöperative Society of the Boss Baker of Brooklyn has been incorporated with the secretary of state for mutual protective purposes and to promote trade matters.

Base Ball.

A CO-OPERATIVE base ball team has been organized in Monson, Massachusetts, the players to share equally in the profits and losses.

General Education Board.

THE General Education Board which was established by John D. Rockefeller with a fund of \$32,000,000, the income to be used for the general advancement of certain educational institutions in this country, has recently voted a grant of \$80,000 for the promotion of farmers' coöperative demonstration work in the Southern states. In connection with this

it is also of interest to note that \$20,000 was set aside for special high-school agents in connection with state universities in the South.

Notes From Abroad.

A SPECIAL committee of the International Coöperative Alliance which was elected at the Congress held at Cremona in September, 1907, is to meet at The Hague at the end of August. They intend revising certain rules, the amending of which will benefit the relations between the allied societies of the various countries. The committee appointed to consider the advantages of international wholesale trading met with the delegates from the foreign countries to agree to a plan of action. The committee held a preliminary meeting in England just before the British Coöperative Congress which was held at Newport, June 7th to 10th.

The Banking Department of the English Coöperative Wholesale societies state that the charge for money which the Coöperative Wholesale Society lent to their constituent members had only been three and one-half per cent., at a time when the bank rate had reached seven per cent. The smallest of their societies had been able to get its money through the Coöperative Wholesale Society on terms which the best corporation could not get. This fact is indeed very remarkable as the net profits of the Banking Department amounted to more than \$55,000 in 1907, and in this period the deposits and withdrawals reached nearly \$350,000.

WHEN ON a recent visit to England, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon. T. Price, addressed the last Quarterly Divisional Meeting of the Wholesale Society in London. In a very important speech he paid a well-deserved tribute to British coöperators and especially to their organ, the *Coöperative News*. This is the first time that a premier has publicly taken a prominent place in the ranks of coöperation, and has expressed so firm a faith in the movement. Mr. Price states that he is proud of the fact that he has served seventeen years on the committee of a coöperative store. With regard to the movement in Australia he spoke as follows:

"The coöperative movement in Australia is making headway, although it has not made

the same headway as in Britain. There are many reasons for that. I believe our conditions are much better than yours, and we may have been wasteful and thriftless. If our conditions were harder in the struggle for existence, we might have entered into coöper-

ation with more zeal. But it is from the knowledge that this is the only movement that we know of which will remove the middleman who sits and takes toll, without any labor whatsoever, that we are falling in with it."

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

Victory in Oregon.

UNDER date of Portland, Oregon, June 5th, Mr. W. H. Denlinger writes:

"At our state election on Monday last, all the measures proposed by the People's Power League were carried by good majorities. The Recall carried by a vote of nearly two to one; Corrupt Practices Act by a slightly smaller majority, and the Proportional Representation Amendment by about thirteen thousand—a large majority for this state. The law compelling members of the legislature to vote as the people vote for United States Senator carried by over three to one.

"I consider this one of the most encouraging victories that we have ever won for the people in Oregon. When the Initiative Amendment, the Direct Primary, etc., were passed, we had put the opposition to sleep, and the politicians and big papers were with us. But this time not a newspaper in the state, except the labor press and perhaps one or two of the smaller papers, was with us or had anything good to say for us. This was especially so concerning Proportional Representation.

"The *Oregonian*, our largest newspaper, abused all these reform measures for all it was worth. The organization of the Republican party was against us, and their platform in direct terms opposed everything we offered. I am sending you samples of cartoons that appeared almost daily, ridiculing and opposing us. The Democratic press, while not actively against us, was always silent editorially. Further, as to Proportional Representation, the Municipal Reform League resolved against it.

"But we have won out, and it is a great victory. Our state pamphlet did the work. I am sending to you another copy of it. You can see now of how much value is the endorse-

ment of a few good men that the people have confidence in.

"I used to advantage the Proportional Representation literature that you sent; but I think that the endorsement of the People's Power League had as much to do with the outcome as anything. Our League has secured the confidence of the people, and what they offer 'goes.'

"To say that the politicians are 'mad' is expressing it mildly. Their great hope now is that the Supreme Court of the United States will destroy the people's rule in this state by an adverse decision. They certainly have to mend their ways if they intend to get the confidence of the people. The Direct Primary has done much to destroy the old-time 'ring-rule' in this state. I believe that the legislation we have just put through, with the measures which will naturally follow in its wake, will utterly destroy the old machine and boss system.

"Let me tell you: I do not think that one in ten realizes the full importance of the victory we have just won. If you were out here you would see in the newspapers great headlines about this and that candidate winning out, and see the returns fully displayed concerning these men, but very little comment about the measures which have been carried. The old political machine has been hit so hard that the politicians are dumb, and do not like to talk about it. Some of them have not sense to see the handwriting on the wall anyway, but in time they will see it."

The Oregon Proportional-Representation Amendment.

It is fitting that I should reprint here the first law ever passed in the United States to provide for *real* Proportional Representation:

"Section 16 of Article II. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"*Article II.*—Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution, until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for elections by equal proportional representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations."

Preferential Voting in West Australia.

JUST in time for this issue comes a batch of newspapers from my West Australian correspondent, Mrs. T. Pethick, of Grass Valley—who, by the way, is a niece of Mrs. Young, not of Miss Spence.

One of these newspapers, the *Kalgoorlie Miner*, contains information concerning the Proportional Representation provisions which were in the new Electoral Bill before the West Australian State Parliament. As finally passed, the Electoral Act contains provisions not for Proportional Representation, but merely for preferential voting in single-member districts. This is worth something, however, as familiarizing voters with the method of ballot-marking that would be used for Proportional Representation, and as pointing the way to a better system in the same line. It, of course, applies only to elections where there are more than two candidates for the one seat; but it has the effect of encouraging the nomination of more than two candidates.

The act states with regard to the marking of ballot papers that each voter shall indicate his choice of the various candidates by marking opposite the name of his first-choice the

numeral "1," opposite his second choice the numeral "2," and so on according to preference.

The counting of the votes as provided by the act is as follows:

"(a) The returning officer shall open all ballot-boxes and count all first-preference votes given for each candidate.

"(b) If no candidate has an absolute majority of first-preference votes the returning officer shall then declare the candidate who has obtained the fewest first-preference votes to be a defeated candidate, and each ballot paper counted to him shall be distributed among the other candidates next in order of the electors' preference.

"(c) This process shall be repeated, and the votes recounted after each such distribution, until one candidate has obtained an absolute majority, or until only two candidates remain. If neither of these has an absolute majority of all the votes cast, the one having the highest number of votes shall be declared duly elected."

Canadian Labor Elections.

INTERESTING labor elections on the proportional and preferential plan took place at Winnipeg on May 22nd last, when a hundred and seventy members of the Typographical Union elected local and international officers on the Hare-Spence system. The "returning officer" was Mr. A. W. Puttee, editor of the *Winnipeg Voice*, and a staunch friend of just electoral methods.

Ballot papers having been sent out and returned, the election committee counted and canvassed them in the Typographical Union offices on that Wednesday evening. Several spectators who wished to follow out the system kept tally on extra tally-sheets as the voting papers were read off.

Great Britain.

HERE is a paragraph from the June issue of *Representation* that gives some idea of the time, energy and money which our English friends are putting into the movement there:

"The Belgian Parliamentary elections were held on Monday, May 24th, and resulted in a net gain of four seats to the Opposition. We hope next month to publish an account of the elections from the Hon. Secretary of the society, Mr. J. H. Humphreys, who went over

to Belgium with the express purpose of studying the working of the proportional system there in force."

I shall look with great interest for that account of the Belgian elections, and shall not fail to give my readers full benefit of it. That monthly English journal can now be relied on to give news from France and Belgium, and indeed other European countries, from original sources, as fully and accurately as it does the British news of the Proportional Representation movement. Following are two more items:

"We understand that the Executive of the Metropolitan Branch of the British Medical Association has almost unanimously agreed on the motion of Dr. G. Crichton, to conduct the elections this year, as last, on the system of Proportional Representation embodied in Lord Courtney's Bill. The feeling is said to be definitely in favor of the proportional method.

"We are glad to report that at the Annual Conference of the 'Young Scots,' held at the end of April, a resolution in favor of Proportional Representation, recommended by the Glasgow South Suburban Branch, was carried."

The Situation in England.

THE EDITOR of *Representation* sums up thus the political situation in England as it bears on electoral reform:

"On May 20th Mr. Asquith announced that the government intend before they leave office to produce a sweeping measure of electoral reform. Apparently the government program will include manhood suffrage and an amendment introducing womanhood suffrage will not be opposed by the government. It can hardly be supposed that some measure of redistribution will not form part of the government proposals. In any case the whole question of representation will be raised before the public. If our propaganda is not to go to sleep for at least another quarter of a century, a determined effort must be made to arouse public interest in the proposals of the Society. For such an effort the omens are not unfavorable. The *Daily News*, which may be supposed to be not without influence in Liberal quarters,

appears to have become definitely friendly to Proportional Representation. Mr. Asquith's own words spoken at St. Andrew's, on February 19, 1906, form one of the best short statements yet made in public of the true principles of representation, and are evidence that on the part of the Prime Minister there is no unwillingness to face the need of reform. This striking declaration should be graven on the minds of all our readers. Here it is:

"It was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons, if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial body of the King's subjects which should not find there representation and speech. No student of political development could have supposed that we should always go along in the same old groove, one party on one side and another party on the other side, without the intermediate ground being occupied, as it was in every other civilized country, by groups and factions having special ideas and interests of their own. If real and genuine and intelligent opinion was more split up than it used to be, and if we could not now classify everybody by the same simple process, we must accept the new conditions and adapt our machinery to them, our party organization, our representative system, and the whole scheme and form of our government."

"And again the present Prime Minister, speaking at Morley a fortnight later (March 2, 1906), said:

"Let them have a House of Commons which fully reflected every strain of opinion; that was what made democratic government in the long run not only safer and more free, but more stable."

"On the side of the Opposition Proportional Representation has many powerful friends; Mr. Arthur Balfour was in 1885 a member of the society, and on general principles it may well be argued from a conservative standpoint that the abolition of plural voting and a vastly increased electorate make it even more necessary than at the present time that security be taken that all minorities should be heard."

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RECENT PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF LIFE.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

NOT IN recent years have we read any work attempting to furnish a luminous interpretation of life or a philosophical explanation of the Sphinx of the ages, the meaning of life, the problem of man and his destiny, that can compare with this work by Dr. Mars. It is as suggestive as it is lucid, as logical and closely reasoned as it is profoundly thoughtful and convincing to the reason.

The volume begins with a vivid panoramic view of material phenomena, the birth of worlds, the appearance of life and its gradual but steady ascent, the orderly working of phenomenal organic nature toward a great and definite end. From this the author passes to a consideration of "The Three-Fold Unity of Reason" and "The Three-Fold Interpretation of Reason," after which "The Pedagogy of Pain" is followed by the last division of the work, which deals with "Realization," or the prodigal coming to himself and through this awakening entering again into harmony or unity with the Divine or Cosmic Life.

II.

Book One deals with "The Natural World-Order." The author shows that man, a rational being, finds himself an intelligent subject in the midst of an objective world. "His supreme concern is to interpret that world under the forms of intellect, estimate its values in terms of feeling, and subdue it to the dominance of his will."

In his toilsome ascent he has made slow progress, often seeming to be forever wandering in a labyrinth, unassisted by helpful clues or a reliable key. With the rise of modern science, however, a new light dawned. Two great words have been thrust to the front by science: Law and Evolution. "Law stands for a rational permanence of relation among

things, and is something not only which we can understand but upon which we can rely. Evolution, simply expressed, is a rational, purposive progress toward a definite end."

The eighteenth century especially emphasized the word *law* as it related to the course of nature.

"Perhaps the most significant name connected with it is that of Newton who, having the splendid results of Galileo, with his laws of motion, and of Kepler, with his paths of the planets, before him, was looking for some simple and inclusive formula for all interplanetary reactions. As we know, he found it in the law of gravitation which he could state in exact, mathematical terms. Considering how few were the facts at his command, we may almost regard his discovery as a revelation. It was the leap of mind to the truth of things.

"This great conception of law, including everything, controlling everything, in a vast unitary system of cosmic order, without loss and without accident, took possession of the century. Pope put into poetry, and the English Deists and French Encyclopedists put it into philosophy.

"This comprehensive notion of a harmonious cosmos, whose order of going is changeless law, was of incalculable value for an enlightened progress, because it not only furnished the mind with a sublime outlook on the world and gave inspiration and method for new discoveries, but also banished from the troubled spirit of man many base superstitions and fears that had made him cringe before intrusive, supernatural powers of evil."

The splendid work of the eighteenth-century thinkers prepared the way for the still greater revelation of the light of truth in regard to the processes of nature which the nineteenth century gave the world in the evolutionary philosophy.

"Heretofore, attention had been successfully and fruitfully fixed on physical or inorganic nature; now attention was beginning to

*"An Interpretation of Life." By Gerhardt C. Mars, B.D., Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 783. Price, \$3.00 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

be centered more and more, and with flattering results, on living or organic nature.

"This new idea has proved of the greatest advantage to thought. The universe of things, conceived merely as a system of law and order, remains simply a mechanism in which there is no progress, no life. It is just a system of self-inclosed, legalized interactions. But once transfuse that system with the movement of an evolution, and immediately life and progress appear. Nature ceases to be a mechanism, describable in exact, mathematical terms, and becomes an organism which rises above mathematical description into the higher realms of art and ethics.

"Viewed as an organism, nature reveals not only the intelligence of an objective, rational plan, the harmony of order, and the integrity of law, but an unfolding purpose, moving toward some great end. Regarded merely in terms of law, the cosmos presents itself as static, that is, as a balanced permanence among things; in terms of evolution, however, it presents itself more as a kinetic progress, shaping things. In the one case we view the world as *it is*, in the other, as it *is to be*.

"Thus it is that evolution introduces into the natural world-order the forward-looking purpose of an artistic and moral ideal.

"Evolution is the gradual unfolding of a rational plan in time, or the becoming explicit of an implicit idea.

"We see inorganic nature evolving to that point where life appears. Then the first forms of life press forward, throwing their efforts, as it were, beyond themselves, as if seeking some ideal of which, nevertheless, they themselves are incapable. The ideal is reached in some succeeding generation, which again strains forward to its unattainable, realized, in turn, by its successors; and so the rising process goes on until man is reached, a self-conscious intelligence who, waking from the slumber of the cosmic unity, in which all things below him were wrapped, consciously takes up the inherent ideal and strives forward with his science, his art, and his ethics toward the perfections of truth, beauty and goodness."

After broadly stating the problem and the apparent processes of the cosmic order, the author shows how much confusion has arisen through the error of using the word "explanation"

when the term "description" should be employed. The error of supposing we *explain* when we *describe* has been largely responsible for much worse than useless antagonism between scientific and religious thinkers.

The author shows the immense value of evolution to religion. From this preliminary observation he passes to a brief but graphic examination of inorganic evolution as "introductory to the history of life and mind on the earth."

Though when viewed in detail, the inorganic world presents "only inchoate molar, molecular and atomic masses, indifferent to all organic form and subject only to physical and chemical forces," taken as a whole the physical universe reveals "a gradual evolution, according to a definite, rational plan."

"Existing as an infinitesimal atom in the midst of the physical masses and forces about him, it is not unnatural that man should regard the world as inorganic. In so doing, he is not unlike an imaginary corpuscle in the human blood, which, while it found many living, organic forms, vegetal and animal, about it, should take the rushing blood currents, the retaining walls of artery, vein and capillary, the various forms of tissue, muscular, nervous and calcareous, and the physical and chemical changes going on, as constituting an orderly, but, nevertheless, an essentially non-vital and inorganic world. Enlarge the mental vision of the corpuscle, and it will see in the whole human body, in which it lives, a great organism that has come to its present form through years—to it ages—of slow development. In like manner, when man widens his view, he beholds in the cosmos a mighty organism which has reached its present form through aeons of evolution."

To enable the reader to quickly and intelligently follow the author as he presents in brief outline the nebular hypothesis and the various worlds of wonder which astronomy, chemistry, geology and the natural sciences in general have revealed, Mr. Mars takes him on an imaginary journey with a cosmic titan who sets out to unravel the mystery presented by the phenomena which confront him on every hand. Never, we think, have the outlines of the great revelations that have come as the fruit of modern scientific research, been so lucidly and fascinatingly presented in the compass of a few pages as in the author's explanations of the formation of globes and satellites from the star-dust and nebulae, and

the phenomena which follow the gradual cooling off of the globes. Here his attention is arrested by the workings of gravitation, adhesion, cohesion, heat, light, electricity, magnetism and chemism. He cannot fail to note how the crystal seems to be a rebel to the general cosmic order.

But passing from inorganic to organic evolution, a new chapter of wonders is revealed. As in a vivid moving-picture we are made to see the entrance of the cell and its subdivision; the rise of life and the phenomenon of self-asserted individuality.

"An irrepressible dualism has broken the harmonious monism of nature, a microcosmos has arisen within the macrocosmos, and the tragic conflict has begun which moves toward a strangely significant world-drama. The great inorganic cosmos, evolved from the primal star-mists, has now, within itself, opened the gates of life out of which issue the beginnings of a new and higher evolution of organic forms, to reach its culmination in man."

We soon note two great laws of organic progress.

"From the very beginning of life there seems to be two distinct and divergent lines of development, but, nevertheless, intimately related in the whole plan, viz.: plant and animal. Plant cells group themselves and develop a certain complexity of organic function in individual forms, and these show sensitiveness and intelligent volitional response to the environment in self-preservation, propagation and progression; but the plant seems to have swerved from the main path of advance and so reaches, as it were, only a certain stage of slumbering existence.

"The animal, on the other hand, having struck out along the true path, soon leaps far in advance of its lowly rival, and reveals the most astonishing inventiveness of progressive development, so that we are amazed by the bewildering variety and countless number of rising forms."

The plant becomes the purveyor of food to the animal. Nay, more, "It would seem . . . that the plant is the link between inorganic nature, on the one hand, and animal life on the other. It is the producer and go-between, or middle-man, of the evolutionary economy."

From the plant we turn to the animal and trace the gradual ascent toward the great culmination of organic evolution in man. In passing, the author observes:

"If now we pause for a moment and ask for the largest generalization which we can make, in viewing thus far the whole, evolutionary, cosmic order, we shall find that it presents to us the *one* and the *many*. In Greek antiquity, each of these terms formed the basis of a separate philosophical school. But as we see it now, they are both necessarily involved in the whole system of things. This whole system of things is in itself the *one*, while at the same time, the things of which it is composed are infinitely *many*. Viewed under an aspect, before suggested, the *one* and the *many* present themselves as being and becoming, that is, a substantial something, changeless and fixed, which, nevertheless, manifests itself as a causal something, ever fluent and changing. As it is in this constant becoming of the *many* and its relation to the being of the *one* that our problem of evolution lies, we shall, as we proceed, be reminded again and again, that it is because of the being of the *one*, that the becoming of the *many*, or the whole process of evolution, is not a fortuitous flow of things, but an orderly procedure, according to immutable law. It follows, as Heraclitus taught long ago, a *logos* or rational plan.

"Thus, in the concrete instance of vital evolution, regarded merely on the physical side, one dynamic, purposive idea guided the manifold changes in the whole ascending process, and that was the creation of the vertebral brain."

At length in the journey from the star-dust on the phenomenal side of nature, we reach the crowning fruit of organic evolution, and here our author luminously proceeds:

"Man has gathered up and resumed, in himself, all the physical and chemical forces of the so-called material world, and all the vegetal and animal principles of life below him; and then emerges beyond the utmost of inorganic and organic evolution into the consciousness of self, the center about which, for him, the whole process turns. He thus frees himself utterly, from the thralldom of nature and rises into supra-nature on the plane of reason, as the first real individual, a true rational self, an *other*, over against the objective world."

"Nature has first evolved, through her physical and chemical forces, to her utmost inorganic form. Then, building upon this, the plant has risen to the capacity of sensitive reaction in the interests of individual living organism. Above this stage of advance and

resting upon it, the animal has developed into individual consciousness of objects; when man, summing up the whole, steps beyond into the free individuality of self-consciousness. To adopt a fine figure of Leibnitz's, physical nature, as it were, being dead, comes to life in the plant, but life in a profound slumber and conscious of nothing. In the animal, life enters upon a conscious state, as in a dream. But in man life awakens into full consciousness, and man becomes a *rational person*. He is no longer wrapped in the slumber of the cosmic unity, subject, unconsulted, to the laws of its interactions; but, for the first time in the whole order of progressive evolution, becomes an *other*, and faces the universe as the object of his cognition, feelings and will. The original cosmic one has become two, a dualism has emerged from the primal monism—already foreshadowed in the crystal, and pushed toward realization by plant and animal—and now the individual reason of man confronts the individual reason of the world.

"Indeed, this seems to have been the end at which nature all along was aiming, a consummation toward which she was slowly struggling. In other words, we have presented a world-drama, wherein the cosmic unity is broken by the appearance of an other, a self-conscious personality, able to know both himself and the evolving process of nature out of which he seems to have arisen, and to set himself over against it, as an object of his thought, feeling and will, in friendly or hostile attitude. And the quintessential significance of this entire unfolding process, as has been observed, is that the development of life, from the simplest cell up to man, has been accompanied by, if not identical with, the psychological development, which has raised man above the natural into the supra-natural or rational order."

The author enlarges on the general facts advanced and points out the popular fallacies of continuity and generality. He closes this section with the following admirable definition of evolution:

"We may, therefore, define the evolution of the natural world-order as the unfolding of an idea in time, from its implicit to its explicit form, during which organic life, emerging from the inorganic cosmos, rises, first as plant, to the assertion of mere *sensitive vitality*, in the interests of individual existence; then, as animal, to a *conscious* and, consequently, more

intelligent and enlarged reaction upon the object; and, finally in man, to a *self-conscious* knowledge of subject and object, in virtue of which, life, rising to the supra-natural or rational order, comes to be a free and progressive unfoldment of the individual, self-conscious, knowing, feeling and willing reason, toward an understanding of the unity of subject and object, in the totality of Absolute Reason."

III.

Book Two deals with "The Supra-natural or Rational World-Order." In this division the author passes from the consideration of the purely objective or materialistic phenomena, as shown in the evolutionary processes, to the contemplation of life in its higher aspects and the great goal to which life is struggling.

"We found," he observes, "the plant and animal first struggling to be free, as individuals, from the general control of nature; and then, to perfect themselves, struggling, even more eagerly, to get back into harmony with nature again."

"Shall we also find this same paradox in man who, after he has once become a free individual, seeks harmony and reconciliation with that source whence he sprung? If so his endeavor will not simply end in coming back into accord with nature again, but with that supreme supra-natural realm of Reason, above and back of nature, into which his rational self-consciousness has ushered him."

Our author next proceeds to consider "The Self, One and Permanent," "The Sub-conscious and Unconscious Self," "The Abnormal Self," and "The Self Always a Subject." Under the last heading Dr. Mars observes:

"Much of the confusion about the self has arisen from looking for it where it does not belong. The Upanishads, the highest inspirational product of the Hindu mind, perhaps more than any other writings emphasize the central value of the self, and they make it plain enough that by its very nature, the self is forever the perceiving subject. If it is ever made an object of thought, it is never an object among its objects."

"The attempt has again and again been made, by the investigator, of putting the subject, as it were, *out there* to examine it as an

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object; whereas, all the time, the subtle, ever-present subject has drawn itself back from being the examined to constitute itself the examiner."

The author shows how fundamentally at fault Hume was in his attempt to examine the self. He next shows how far clearer and more scientific was the position taken by Kant and Hegel. "That was," he holds, "the supreme moment in the cosmic evolution, when the knowing, feeling and willing subjective intelligence emerged into the clear consciousness of self.

"Once arrived there, man becomes conscious of possessing within himself three simple, primitive, undervived, rational capacities which, inseparably related, inter-blended in all their activities, and one in the unity of self-conscious reason, are, at the same time, unmistakably and persistently distinct, in their own inalienable right and integrity. These capacities are knowing, feeling and willing. If we would understand man's rational development, we must neither identify them nor separate them. They exist as a rational unity in trinity, or as a triune unity."

"The Evolution of the Theoretical Reason" next engages the author's attention. It is a masterly presentation of a subject that has rarely been discussed so lucidly. Especially worthy of attention are Dr. Mars' observations under the sub-titles of "The Cosmic Reason in All Things," "The Power of the Concept," "Naïve Logic: Common-Sense," "The Logic of Reflection: Science," "Rational Intuition or the Logic of Logic: Philosophy," "The Advance from Matter to Mind; from Nature to Spirit," and "Mind in but Above Nature." Under the subtitle, "A Defeat That Promises Triumph," our author says:

"But the philosopher sees more than the fleeting things of sense, and finds in Reason the abiding place of man's rest; and the same sacred bard who, looking down, saw man carried away as with a flood, looked up and beheld in the Eternal, 'our dwelling place in all generations.'

"The consciousness of defeat has in it the promise of triumph. The mind that has become aware of error and limitation, has of necessity already conceived the possibility of truth and freedom, in which there is no error and restriction but a knowledge of the total Reality. |

"Forthence, a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink
i' the scale."

"At any rate, it is toward a comprehensive ideal knowledge of the Truth that man stubbornly bends his most earnest efforts. With as much fervor as the saint, who yearns for a vision of God, the scientist and philosopher pursue the Truth. Like errant knights, amid privation and struggle, they follow the gleam, in search of some Holy Grail, the sight of which will banish all error and doubt, and fill the mind with healing light."

Very suggestive and thought-stimulating is his discussion under the title of "The Ideal Not Found in the Actual." He shows that the ideal is always unattained. It is the pillar of fire that ever must lead aspiring man and society. As Hugo puts it, it is "The stable type of ever-moving progress"; while Emerson voices the same thought when he sings:

"The Lethe of Nature
Can't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain.

"To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive;
His eye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive;
The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found—for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

And yet this ideal "Is the one thing reason demands as having the seal of value stamped upon it."

"To turn aside from the star of this ideal Truth is as fatal for man in his development in the world, as for the mariner, amid the storm upon the seas, to lose his compass.

"If, then, this ideal, so indispensable for man's progress, is not to be found in experience, it must be that, from the beginning, it lies as a germ in reason itself—the kingdom of Truth is within you—and the value of experience consists in being a means to unfold that infolded Truth, for its conscious understanding and acceptance by the free rational self."

To the student of comparative religion and the philosophy of life, the following, dealing with "Revelation and the Fall of Man" and

"The Power of the Ideal in the Concept," cannot fail to prove of deep interest:

"It is this same rational fact that accounts for the origin of the claim of revelation and renders it subsequently intelligible. Those great geniuses, who have led humanity, have always been more fully developed than their contemporaries, while the value and cogency of their appeal has depended upon the latent, rational possibilities in those minds whom they addressed. Recognizing that the truth, which they set forth, did not come from the worldly wisdom of experience but from some higher source, they regarded it as supernatural revelation, and their followers accounted it as nothing less than miraculous. It was, indeed, *supra*-natural, as being above nature, but it was natural to reason. To the multitude it was miraculous in the sense that the discovery of such lofty truth was above their present rational development and power of insight.

"The presence of the ideal truth in the mind, before its actual realization, also accounts for those deep and universal convictions among cultured peoples, about the fall of man. Man, it is conceived, was once in Paradise, perfect and good—perhaps he lived in some Golden Age, free from strife, misery and want, or it may be, he was once an unfallen soul, among the gods, gazing enraptured upon the beautiful vision of Truth. But all this changed when, for some reason variously given, man plunged into the experiences of sense, which either stained his moral purity or obscured his intellectual vision. Once fallen, the confusion and misery of his condition drive him to seek a return to his former happy estate.

"We prefer, however, to regard such allegories not as setting forth some historic fall but rather as the rise, under the stress of disciplinary experience, of the rational concept in man, which was present as the essential function of his reason from the beginning, and which it is the purpose of his rational evolution to bring out."

The chapter devoted to "Evolution of the Esthetic-Practical Reason" shows very clearly how the passion for truth and its discovery gave to man profound joy. The philosophical scientist may think he seeks merely for truth's sake, without hope of reward, but as a matter of fact he takes "the utmost pleasure in pursuing the truth," and "when he finds it, or even only thinks he has found it, he rejoices as a man who has discovered the pearl of great

price. That is, he cannot help *feeling* the truth, for he is as much an esthetic as he is a theoretical being."

Huxley in his *Methods and Results* clearly proves this by numerous citations. He contends that:

"That which stirs their pulses is the love of knowledge and the joy of the discovery of the causes of things, sung by the old poet—the supreme delight of extending the realm of law and order ever farther towards the unattainable goals of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, between which our little race of life is run. . . . Nothing great in science has ever been done by men, whatever their powers, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting."

We are next treated to a masterly discussion of this fascinating and basic fact in the closely-reasoned thesis. Here are some of the subtitles to arguments that are of great interest because of the deep philosophical insight and complete mastery of his theme evinced by the author: "Feeling the Truth," "Every Known Object has Esthetic Value," "Feeling Less Definable than Knowing," "Knowledge and Opinion," "Pleasure and Pain, the Correlates of Truth and Error," "Sensation," "Emotion," "Moods, Emotions Proper and Passions," "The Values in Self-Consciousness," and "Happiness." Under this last heading Dr. Mars observes:

"When, in our theoretical development, intuition begins its work of bringing into unity our abstract logical thoughts, it reveals to us more and more the harmonious beauty of the objective Idea, or Reality, whereupon feeling passes beyond emotion into the regions of happiness, which is the esthetic correlate of the Truth."

This idea is clearly elucidated in succeeding paragraphs.

Art, we are shown, rests upon science, and the critic who "Lets us into the true secret of the great artist not only instructs but also inspires us with what all true art necessarily contains, both thought and feeling."

"Feeling follows knowledge, and volition follows feeling."

"But now," observes the author, "that the word art is mentioned, we are at once carried over, beyond mere knowing and feeling, to willing. Reason is not only theoretical and esthetical, but also practical. Since the known object has value for us in terms of feeling, we act upon it, seize and make use of

it for our good. That is, the feeding of value in things furnishes us with all our motives of volition, from which follows all those modifications on the surface of the earth which we call civilization. The sense of an ideal value in himself drives man, in reciprocal contact with nature and his fellows, toward self-realization, manifested in all forms of culture which are meant to conserve his welfare. Every simple contrivance, every invention, every work of art, and all the means of education are results of willing, impelled by the values of feeling, and guided by the light of knowing.

"Thus, as the theoretical reason reads the thoughts of nature, her rational order, and harmonious unity of truth, in science and philosophy; and as the esthetical reason estimates her infinitude of values, the practical reason seeks to imitate her creative power and beauty. In a way the great creative artist comes nearer to God than all other men; for, catching the secret of his workmanship in nature, he seeks to imitate him by becoming a creator himself. The esthetical reason, then, evaluates not only what we know now, but also those ideals which the theoretical reason conceives; while the practical reason urges us on to the attainment of some beautiful harmony of life."

The work is so closely reasoned that it is difficult to lucidly convey even the barest outline of the author's thought, but there are at times paragraphs that sum up in a luminous way much that has been convincingly presented in preceding paragraphs. Here, for example, is such a paragraph:

"At the very beginning of vital evolution, we found not only the volitional instincts of self-preservation and self-propagation but of *self-progression* as well. The simplest living cell strains to do its best against all odds, and every plant and animal struggles toward its attainment. But most clearly, in the whole range of evolution, we see a steady, purposive, irresistible push onward toward some great end. And when this progressive cosmic will comes to self-consciousness in man, man discovers the truth of it, estimates, for himself, the value of it, and rationally pushes forward to his goal, thus determined, which is nothing less than the freedom of self-realization in the perfect welfare of a harmonious beauty."

Nature, Dr. Mars holds, is a masterwork of art. Man rightly surmises that nature is not "Simply a great mechanism of power with its

legal and mathematical exactitude, but rather a sublime, cosmic poem, a glorious work of art, product of the Infinite Poet and Artificer, who is the one Supreme Maker and Creator of all.

"When, therefore, man seeks practically to apply his knowledge of the objects around him, and wills, according to the evaluations of the esthetic reason, to construct a world of his own for his welfare and happiness, he is but imitating or reflecting that Infinite Thought and Eternal Will of the Cosmos, in which he lives and moves and has his being."

We have been concerned with the evolution of the esthetic reason, but now a new problem confronts us. When man "Wills to use the value of the known object for his good, the necessary association with his fellow-men, forces the ultimate question upon him as to whether he will claim that good for himself alone or share it with others. The entire burden of this question rests upon the ethical reason."

The chapter devoted to "The Evolution of the Ethical Reason" is one of the most vital discussions we have read in years. Almost every paragraph is rich in stimulating ideas and awakens fruitful trains of thought.

"Man finds himself environed by his fellow-men, and such is one of the great underlying cosmic laws or principles that he finds no one liveth to himself. The law of solidarity of life imposes obligations, and its recognition helps in harmonizing life and increasing the measure of happiness. Indeed, man "Soon learns that it is only in conjunction with others that he can live at all. By coöperation with them alone, can he learn to know and use to his highest good the vast resources of nature that lie about him. It is in society that man's life is possible, and in the development of the social, moral relations lies the whole meaning of history."

In a luminous and fascinating manner the author traces the advance in life and especially in man's consciousness, that culminates in self-realization.

"The moral will first centers about the self, then about others for the sake of the self, and finally includes all others in the self. The self has not disappeared but has evolved from an egoistic self-reference, through law, to love, as an ultimate expression of self-realization."

He shows in a conclusive manner a fact pointed out most admirably by Dr. Drummond in his *Ascent of Man*; how at the first life is

concerned for itself; later the element of altruism is dimly seen, or interest for other selves. And this steadily progresses as life advances. Finally a much higher stage is reached, and the "intuition of truth" or "altruistic affection for the sake of the self becomes a general law of justice, by which self-interests are wholly protected, in protecting the interests of others."

This comparatively high and indispensable attainment, however, falls below the goal set by the ethical reason for its self-realization; and when "Reason rises above its logical stage of evolution to the intuition of universal truth, all tribalisms give way to humanity, and in every man is seen a friend and brother. Self-progression, going beyond self-propagation, comes to be seen as a self-realization which can alone be attained when the simple affection, originating in the family, is raised into a universal, outstreaming will of good that enfolds all other selves within the self. The ethical reason, as an attitude of will toward others, has thus, with the culmination of the theoretical reason, itself culminated in the all-inclusive, universal will of goodness."

Extremely interesting and valuable are the author's statements of the comparative contributions given to the world by Gotama and Jesus, touching the great truth of reaching supreme happiness through the outstreaming will of good.

"That the esthetic reason, in its highest expression of felicity, stamps its approval upon the ethical reason, in its noblest manifestation as an outstreaming will of good, was the great scientific discovery of Gotama, the illustrious founder of Buddhism.

"Gotama was not interested in the laws of phenomenal nature, because to him nature was but so much illusion. Recognizing that all life is suffering and the desire of life, therefore, the root of suffering, he would know the scientific principle that leads to release and happiness. He found it in a universal, all-inclusive love for things both great and small. He sat himself down and sent out his love, compassion and pity to the first quarter of the universe, then to the second and third and fourth quarters of the universe, until the whole was penetrated and filled, above, below, around, with his all-enfolding love. And behold! that was release from suffering, that was peace, blessedness, Nirvana. And this discovery was all the more valuable because it eliminated every other consideration but the

pure moral will, and showed that that pure moral will, as an outstreaming love to all, brings supreme happiness. It is, in fact, a profound scientific demonstration of the doctrine of Jesus, who taught the same universal love, though from a different motive, but who never gave scientific explanations.

"Gotama made use of his discovery as a means to an esthetic end, viz., release from suffering and the attainment of Nirvana or perfect happiness. Jesus, on the other hand, saw in the universal will of good a supreme end in itself, because it is the fundamental law of Reality. Entrance into life for Him, as for Gotama, meant complete happiness, but that happiness for Jesus was the esthetic correlate of perfect volitional accord with the Absolute Will of Divine Love. The higher attitude of Jesus was due to the fact that he based his teachings upon objective Reality, and not upon a motive of escape from suffering. To Gotama, God, man and the world are illusions. To Jesus, God is the Supreme Reality, and therefore man and the world are real."

Among the subjects discussed in this chapter that are of special value to the thoughtful readers are "The Egoistic Struggle," "Value of the Struggle," "A Stage Beyond Justice," "Self-Renunciation in Nature," "Unselfish Love Among the Animals," "The Family Expands into the Nation," "The Patriarchal Autocracy," "The Sovereignty of Law and Justice," "The New Principle of the Gospel for Human History," "The Leaven at Work in Christian History," "The True State, a Government of Free People," "The Law of Justice and the Law of Love," "Signs of Moral Progress in History," "The Individual Man Repeats the Historic Order," and "The Cosmic Will of Goodness, the Ground of Progress."

This division of the volume closes with the following admirable summary:

"We have thus traced in outline the development of the world-order. Beginning as the evolution of an inorganic, non-vital, mechanico-chemical system, it passes over into the assertion of individual, organic, vital forms, with the instincts of self-preservation, self-propagation and self-progression; first, as sensitive, non-conscious plants; then, as sensitive, conscious animals, endowed with the psychic powers of knowing, feeling and willing. Above these, as supra-natural, emerges self-conscious, rational man, who includes and sums up in himself all the

processes, instincts and psychic powers below him; and who, recognizing his subjective self-worth over against the world as his object, begins his free, rational development. Roused, by the unfolding purpose of the Divine Intent, from the peace and happiness of the cosmic dream, he goes forth into a struggle with nature and with his fellow-men, only to return if possible, to the harmony which he has lost. And in this return he sets up as the goal of his endeavor the freedom of self-realization, which takes the three-fold form of a reconciliation of his theoretical reason with the Truth of the Cosmic Intelligence (Science and Philosophy); of his esthetic-practical reason with the Beauty of the Creative Cosmic Power and Life (Invention and Art); and of his ethical reason with the Cosmic Will of Goodness (Ethics and Religion).

"We may call the attainment of this freedom of self-realization, redemption or salvation or atonement or reconciliation, as we choose; in the end, it is the ultimate outcome of those deep cosmic instincts of self-preservation, self-propagation and self-progression which run through and guide the entire rational, self-conscious, as well as sub-conscious and unconscious, evolution of man, who can find the ideal of his thought, feeling and will, alone, in coming to know, enjoy and love God."

IV.

This brief and very inadequate outline of the basic facts with which our author opens his volume, exhausts most of the space at our command for this study. We are, therefore, compelled to content ourselves with a few words in regard to the contents of the six hundred pages which follow, though we hope to be able at a future day to again review parts of this work that it is impossible to touch upon at the present time.

Book Three deals with "The Threefold Unity of Reason," in which the author considers "The Aim of Science, Art and Ethics," "Conflict and Confusion," and "The Reconciliation."

Book Four relates to "The Threefold Interpretation of Reason." Here are considered "The Unity of Substance and Cause," "The Problem of Knowing," "The Critical Philosophy of Kant," "The Logic of Reason is the Logic of Reality; Hegel," "The final Deduction of the Categories, Through Rational Intuition," "Perception, Logic and

Intuition, or Sense, Understanding and Reason," "Sense, Logic and Intuition Interpret the Object," "Nature of Intuitive Knowledge and the Ontological Argument," "The World, as a Rational Organism, Reveals Esthetic Design," "The Ethical Problem Stated," "Ethical Meaning of the Theoretical Interpretation," "Ethical Meaning of the Esthetic-Practical Interpretation," and "Religion."

Book Five is devoted to "The Pedagogy of Pain," and here we have a profoundly interesting and suggestive contribution to the vital literature of the day, in which the author sweeps the philosophical history of civilization, ancient and modern, and points out the master thoughts advanced. His principal chapters, after the introductory survey of world-concepts, are as follows: "Error and Sin Actual, Though Unreal," "The Natural Tenacity of Error and Sin," "The Genesis of Error and Sin with the Emergence of Truth and Goodness," "The Relation of Error and Sin: the Errors of Sense Lead to the Sins of Self," "The Mystery of Suffering," "Time, Progressive Refinement and Solidarity," "The Atonement of Christ," "Error and Sin Subservient to Truth and Goodness," and "The Flight and the Return."

Book Six is entitled "Realization." Here the author deals with Christian Science as the latest philosophical interpretation of the profoundest problem of the ages. It is divided into three chapters, as follows: "The Return to Reality in Christian Science," "Christianity as Science is an Ultimate Philosophy," and "In the Fullness of Time, It Came to Pass."

Dr. Mars throughout evinces a breadth of thought and the rich fund of information that is the fruitage of twenty years of exhaustive study of the great religious concepts of all the great nations of time, the master philosophical theories and ideas, the profoundest thoughts, experiences and interpretations of seers, poets, prophets and religious and ethical leaders of all ages and lands. And though he does not, if we understand him aright, accord with the explanation made by Christian Science in regard to the evolution of life and the so-called fall of man, yet he regards Christian Science as the master religious message of modern times. In closing the work, he says of this new concept:

"For breadth and depth of meaning, Christian Science is the most significant and com-

prehensive interpretation which has yet been put upon life, because it meets the demands of the esthetic reason for unity, by uniting the demands of both the theoretical reason for Truth, and the ethical reason for Goodness; and thus brings into harmony the Aryan genius, with its ideals of Truth and Beauty, and the Hebrew genius, with its ideals of Goodness and Eternal Life.

"To be a Christian, it is now no longer sufficient to be *ethical*, or will the Good; it is necessary also to be *scientific*, or understand the Truth, as the manifested Beauty of the Good. And to be a Scientist, it is now no longer sufficient to know the Truth; it is necessary also to be *ethical*, or will the Good, as manifested in the Beauty of Truth. To be a Christian is to be a Scientist, as to be a Scientist is to be a Christian; and to be both is to be a Man whose destiny, as a son of God, is to realize in himself the Beauty of Truth, manifesting Goodness.

"Christian Science is at the beginning of its career in the world. Just what outer forms it will take on or what embodiment it will assume, no man can say; but it grows apace, like the oak sending its roots down to the depths of the everlasting hills. It is not the fugitive utterance of a sentimental or idealistic woman, but the rational voice of the Cosmic Order, making itself heard in the unfolding consciousness of man; it is the Divine Logos, enlightening man and leading him in the way of all Truth; it is the revelation of God.

"He who would know whether or not Christian Science is true, can never determine

it by the measure of discursive logic or an academic criticism. But, giving himself up to his deepest intellectual insight and highest ethical volitions, he must *think* it, *feel* it and *will* it; and then he will find himself dropping the illusions of his material existence, and entering into the Spiritual Realities of a New Heaven and a New Earth."

No review of this work that can be made in a single issue of a magazine could give the barest outline of the author's thought, which to appreciate one must peruse in its entirety. The volume is to us the most masterly, full-orbed and convincing philosophic interpretation of life that has appeared. It is luminous and lucid. It presents theories and concepts which have heretofore rarely been presented in a manner intelligible to the many, with a fascination that will prove irresistible to all serious-minded readers who love the Good, the Beautiful and the True in life, philosophy and literature; and the author's familiarity with the great poetic, scientific and philosophic thought of civilization has enabled him to give not only a masterly presentation of the subject, but to fasten vital truths upon the mind by striking and beautiful illustrations drawn from the noblest thoughts of poets, scientists and philosophers.

This is a book which we would urge every serious-minded reader interested in the problem of life and the master theme with which man has concerned himself, to secure, even though he is unable to buy another book during the year. It is indeed a library in itself.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer. By David Duncan, LL.D. Illustrated. Two volumes. Cloth. Price, \$5.00 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

THIS life of Herbert Spencer, written at the request of the great philosopher by one of his closest friends and most ardent admirers, is an excellent companion to the voluminous autobiography which appeared some years ago. It is well written and edited.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

The author is in deep sympathy with his subject, and if at times his admiration and bias cast a rosy glow over the life and thought of his master, the reader will pardon the error of judgment for the sake of that sympathetic insight that is wanting in the writers of biographies who have no heart interest in their subject. Very simple and entertaining is the story of the life and writings of this great philosopher. We see him pass across the threshold of early manhood and selecting engineering as his profession. This he followed successfully for a time; yet he was never wholly

at home in his work. His brain was literally teeming with ideas. He was inventive, and his fertile imagination was constantly suggesting trains of thought that lured the young man into the fields of speculative philosophy. For some time he wavered between engineering and literature, tortured by a dread that he was destined to make a failure in either pursuit he might elect to follow. At length, however, philosophy won him. But there were many years in which the bread-and-butter problem harassed him and delayed progress on important works he had in mind, because, though his writings early commanded the interested attention of master thinkers, they were not of a character to appeal to the popular imagination. His health also was very poor. Indeed, throughout life he suffered more or less from a state of chronic invalidism.

In the field of speculative philosophy, especially as it relates to biology or the evolutionary theory, Herbert Spencer became the master mind of his day, and numbered among his most intimate friends many of the most illustrious thinkers of the Victorian era, among whom were Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley and John Stuart Mill.

In the domain of politics and economics he was less happy in his thought, displaying a vacillation, or, rather, the splendid fundamental truths which he enunciated in his early work, *Social Statics*, were in many instances repudiated later when he had become famous and patronized by great conservative land-owners and members of the aristocracy. This is very notably the case in his position on the land question, upon which in his earlier work he took a fundamentally sound and just stand. Some of the main propositions advanced in *Social Statics* were briefly summed up by Henry George in his scathing work, *A Perplexed Philosopher*, in which he dealt with Mr. Spencer's apostasy. Here are a few of the fundamental positions taken by Spencer in *Social Statics*, as summed up by Mr. George:

"The equal right of all men to the use of land springs from the fact of their existence in a world adapted to their needs, and into which they are similarly born.

"Equity, therefore, does not permit private property in land, since that would involve the right of some to deny others the use of land.

"Private property in land, as at present existing, can show no original title valid in justice, and such validity cannot be gained either by sale or bequest, or by peaceable possession during any length of time.

"There can be no modification of this dictate of equity. Either all men have equal rights to the use of the land, or some men have the just right to enslave others and deprive them of life."

Mr. Spencer's radical position taken on the land question attracted comparatively little attention and consequently did not offend the great aristocratic, land-owning interests of Great Britain, and when after a severe battle the evolutionary theory became popular with a large section of the more thoughtful Englishmen, Herbert Spencer became recognized as one of the master thinkers of the Old World and found among his strongest champions a number of the heavy land-owners and not a few titled gentry.

After Mr. George published *Progress and Poverty*, and that remarkable and luminous work was printed in England and enjoyed an enormous circulation, Spencer's views, being cited, became popularized, with the result that the philosopher stood in imminent peril of losing the warm friendship of many of his champions. It is quite probable, too, that as age began to creep upon him, Spencer fell under the spell of conventionalism and conservatism, which is so insinuating when one is comfortably situated and surrounded by the apologists for things as they are. Certain it is that Herbert Spencer became an apostate, repudiating his earlier theories.

It was not, however, on the land question alone that the great philosopher became reactionary as age crept upon him. He distrusted democracy; he distrusted woman in the larger walks of life; he distrusted labor. The workmen, he declared, "were proving themselves unfit for the condition of liberty"; while all through life his extreme individualism blinded him to the blessings and benefits of coöperation and organization in political and social life. Indeed, this ultra-individualism was one of the weakest points in his social philosophy. He was out of harmony with the irresistible sweep and drift of civilized life, which is steadily and progressively toward union, organization and efficiency through coöperation. He opposed free education and free libraries and in various other ways was blind to the value of the great centralizing influences that are slowly but surely transforming civilization and preparing us for another upward step as great as that which marked the advent of the epoch of political democracy.

Again, he was wanting at times in that courageous spirit which science demands of her apostles. We have already seen his reactionary stand on the land question. Alfred Russel Wallace had striven to interest him in *Progress and Poverty*, showing him how it was in perfect alignment with the old fundamental concepts he had advanced, but Herbert Spencer drew back and finally joined the camp of the enemy. Quite as marked was his cowardly attitude in regard to the investigation of psychic science. When urged to investigate problems that were engaging the serious attention of many of the master thinkers of the day—such men as Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Camille Flammarion, and other eminent scientific thinkers, he positively refused to do so. In this respect his position contrasted very unfavorably with that taken some years before by Victor Hugo, and later by Camille Flammarion and Cesare Lombroso, all of whom held that while maintaining the most critical spirit or attitude, scientists are bound to give a sympathetic hearing to all the great problems that arise.

These things, however, merely marked the weakness and limitations of one of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century, who in certain domains of research was peerless. Herbert Spencer wrought a great work in stimulating the thought of thousands, liberating minds from the thralldom of superstition and ignorance, and awakening trains of thought among his readers that have already proved a mighty aid to civilization. Even his extreme individualism has been of benefit in checking in a measure the tendency on the part of centralizing forces to unduly subordinate the individual to the state. Union and coöperation are essential to the highest expression of civilization; but that nation or civilization makes a fatal mistake that makes the perfected mechanism of government the end or goal of the state, instead of the united and orderly working of governmental functions a means for the true end of government—the highest practical moral development of the best and noblest in man, his growth and happiness.

This is one of the most important biographies of the year; a work that should find a place in all well-ordered libraries.

Things Worth While. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. In *The Art of Life* series; Edward Howard Griggs, editor.

Cloth. Pp. 75. Price, 50 cents, net. New York: B. W. Huebach.

THE VENERABLE author is at his best in this booklet. The publisher well says:

"If it could be said that any one man links the literature of the nineteenth century to that of the twentieth, the distinction would belong to Colonel Higginson. After a rich and full life as an author, soldier and man of affairs, at eighty-four he gives us a volume which, though small in size, is full of reminiscence, wise counsel, criticism of life and manners, and homely philosophy."

But while the author is at his best he not even in this little volume is at the best. While age has softened and broadened him, he is still unable to cast off the shackles of his early training. He cannot see the full bearing of social conditions upon human life and character. He speaks of those sins which grow out of the want of bread and shelter as "few." He does not seem to realize that criminals of the lower type are created by the thousand through lack of proper food, nor could he probably understand that the milk question has a more important moral bearing than whole systems of education. These things have come to light since Colonel Higginson's day of receptivity. Nevertheless he is a grand man and writes with a charm all his own. He is cheerfully accorded the first place in Boston letters.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Weight of the Name. By Paul Bourget. Translated from the French by George Burnham Ives. Cloth. Pp. 349. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

CONSIDERED from a purely literary point of view, this novel is entitled to a front place in the recent fiction of the world, and it is a bright, interesting love romance for those who care for conservative and reactionary French fiction. The author is, however, a strong reactionary, both in regard to his political ideals and his religious convictions, and his views deeply color the entire work. Indeed, his ideas are so pronounced that for friends of democratic and religious advance the book holds little or no interest. Then, beyond and above this serious defect, is the moral atmosphere, which is decidedly Frenchy, and normal, clean-minded men and women will prefer fiction that carries a purer and more wholesome atmosphere to a book of this character.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THIS issue of THE ARENA contains a strong and varied table of contents that cannot fail to appeal to thoughtful people, especially those who are deeply concerned for the preservation of free institutions and the cause of human rights.

W. B. FLEMING, whose strong and discriminating paper on *The Good and the Bad of the President's Policies*, which appeared in THE ARENA for December of last year, was so widely and favorably noticed, contributes a timely and highly suggestive paper on *The Republican Platform Unmasked*. No unprejudiced student of present-day politics in America, who also carefully studied the actions of the Republican bosses and political opportunists at the Chicago Convention, in their effort to frame a platform that would deceive the people in the interests of their real masters, the campaign-contributing and nation-oppressing corporations, trusts, and Wall-Street gamblers, can fail to appreciate this clear-cut and incisive paper by Mr. FLEMING, which might well be entitled *The Honest Confessions of the Masters of the Republican Convention*, as they might report them to their Wall-Street and trust masters. It is an admirable unmasking of one of the most offensive exhibitions of hypocrisy that has been offered to the American public.

In LUCIA AMES MEAD's masterly paper we have a magnificent reply to the vicious and civilization-retarding sophistry of Captain MAHAN and the coterie of militarists who are doing all in their power to destroy the old Republican ideals of government and replace them with the ideal of a reactionary militarism inimical to free government. Mrs. MEAD's paper is in many respects the strongest, clearest and in the truest sense of the word, the most statesmanlike presentation of the contentions of the Peace Party that has been made in the compass of a magazine article. The author and her husband, EDWIN D. MEAD, have long been recognized as two of the ablest and most influential workers for world-peace in Western civilization.

The new ideal of solidarity as it applies to organized society is becoming one of the leading moral concepts among democratic thinkers and enlightened humanitarians the world over, and in proportion as this noble ethical ideal is being incorporated into the state, the condition of the people is materially advanced. To-day New Zealand is leading the way for civilization along this highway of genuine progress, but the leaven of moral idealism and vital democracy is at work throughout Christian civilization. So marked, indeed, is this, that it is safe to predict that before another generation passes, world-wide changes of the most momentous character will be effected. In Rev. LEWIS J. DUNCAN's luminous paper entitled *Modern Individualism* our readers will find one of the most thought-

ful and inspiring politico-economic essays of the year. The author represents a growing band of brilliant clergymen who place the welfare of the people above all personal considerations and who insist on voicing the lofty moral idealism which gave vital meaning and worth to the Gospel of the Nazarene.

Professor FRANK PARSONS' second and concluding paper on *The Vocation Bureau* will be read with deep interest by men and women in sympathy with the splendid practical and constructive work now being inaugurated and carried forward along many lines of advance for the building of a better and a happier civilization.

Mr. FRANK VROOMAN's contribution on *The All-Canadian Falls Question* should awaken lovers of the beautiful to the threatened destruction of the great falls that have long been one of the chief glories of the natural scenery of America. The danger Mr. VROOMAN clearly points out is imminent, and unless prompt action is taken, these great falls will soon be a thing of the past.

The special attention of our readers is called to the extremely able non-partisan report of the Democratic Convention, prepared expressly for THE ARENA by our staff correspondent, Professor EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D., M. Dip. Professor MAXEY besides being a member of the faculty of the University of the State of Nebraska, is an author of distinction. His published works and his numerous contributions to leading magazines on political and diplomatic subjects have justly commanded general attention not only in this country but in other English-speaking lands.

One of the most deeply interesting features of this issue is HELEN CAMPBELL's vivid pen-picture of HORACE TRAUBEL and his literary work. Mrs. CAMPBELL is one of the ablest magazine essayists and writers of our day, and Mr. TRAUBEL is one of the most unique and interesting of our conscience-guided literary workers.

Mr. ELMER GREY, one of the leading architects of the Pacific coast and a prominent contributor to the leading architectural journals of the country, contributes an interesting and suggestive illustrated paper on *The Architecture of the Christian Science Church*, in which he takes issue with the champions of the Greek model for Christian Science edifices.

The special attention of all our readers is called to HERBERT CONSTABLE's brief but extremely valuable and practical paper on *Postal Polls*. It is an important subject well worth the attention of all serious-minded statesmen.